

EXCELLENT
Contemplations,
Divine and Moral.
Written by the Magnanimous
and truly Loyal
Arthur Lord Capel,
Baron of Hadham.

Together with some Account of
his Life, and his Letters to several Per-
sons, whilst he was Prisoner in the Tower
vigorously asserting the Royal Cause a-
gainst all the Enemies thereof.

Likewise his Affectionate Letters to His
Lady, the Day before his Death, and his
Courageous Behaviour, and last Speech
at his Suffering, March 9. 1648.

With his Pious Advice to his Son the late
Earl of ESSEX.

London,
Printed for Nath. Crouch at the Bell in the
Poultry near Charing-cross. 1683.



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EXCEPTE NT
Commissione

Divine says This
Messianic the Ministry
the Holy Ghost

is the Body of Christ

upon the Earth

To spread the Gospel
to all nations and
to bring in the lost
and scattered children
of God.

It is the duty of every
Christian to be a
witness unto the world
of the things he sees

and to bear record
unto the things he
knows.

Exhortation
to the Ministry
and the People

T

don at Greenwich and quibbles and idylls
and such like; which were very
ingenious and witty to kill time
and a (not worth a rabbit's foot or a hand))
Some Account of the Life of the

**Pious and Virtuous Arthur
Lord Capel, Baron of Hadham,**
and other Adjuncts by name and other names
and of quibbles and such like

THIS Honorable Person ought to be
eternalized for his Endeavours, Con-
stancy and Perseverance in the Royal Cause,
from the parting with his life itself by being
sequestred for his Loyalty, and after-
ward with his life, so that he may be rightly
termed, The Flower of English Fidelity,
and his name ought to be ever memorably
mentioned according to that of the Psalmist,
Psalm. 112. 6. The Righteous shall be had
in Everlasting Remembrance.

He was Son and Heir to Sir Arthur
Capel of Hadham Hall in Hertfordshire,
a Gentleman of a great Estate, one who fol-
lowed the Old Mode of our Nation, kept a
beautiful house, and shewed forth his Fair

by his works, extending his charity in such abundant manner to the poor that he was bread to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, eyes to the blind, and legs to the lame, and might be justly stiled Great Almoner to the King of Kings.

Concerning the humility of this worthy Knight (though it be too sudden a diversion). I shall presume to insert a story, which I have heard delivered by some well acquainted with his Worship; that he being one time at his Gate all alone, in a plain but decent habit, a Serving-man who had plumed himself with his Masters east Feathers came riding to him, & asked him if Sir Arthur Capel were within, Sir, replied the knight, he was there not long ago, and if you please to walk in you may hear further of his Servants; Old Father, said the Serving-man, here take my horse and walk him; and therewithal gave him a small peice of Silver, it being the first money he ever received in that kind; Sir Arthur agreed to the motion, and with a smile received from him a single pony, took his horse, and walkt him, whilst the finical spruce Serving-man strutted with convenient boldness into the house; But being informed by the Servants, that their Master was at the Gate, he replying that he was not there, one of them to justify himself went with him

to the Gate to see, where they found Sir Arthur very industrious in his Employment; the Serving-man very much ashamed of his mistake, craved pardon, and with humble obeisance, with his hat in his hand, with many cringes, would have received the horse from the knight, Nay stay, says Sir Arthur, you paid me my hire, get up as soon as you will, for I am resolved to see you on Horse-back. Then the old Knight putting his hand into his purse gave him half a piece, which he said was for taking so much care of his Masters Horse, being purposely thus liberal to incourage his own Servants to imitate his careful example.

But to return to his son, he was very well educated, attaining to some perfection in learning; his Father dying, as he inherited his Estate so he did his virtues. The Privacy of this noble Lord before the war was passed with as much popularity in the Country, as his more publick appearance in it was with valour and Fidelity in the Field: In our too happy time of peace none was more Pious, Charitable, and Munificent; In our unhappy differences none more resolved, Loyal and active; The People loved him so well that they chose him one of their Representatives and the King esteemed him so much, that he made him one of his Peers in Parliament;

The Life of

the King and People agreeing in this one
thing, to have a just kindness for the Lord
Capel; He was one of those excellent Gen-
tlemen whose gravity and discretion the
King ~~saw~~, He hoped would allay and fix
the faction to a due temperament;
guiding some mens well meaning zeal by such
rules of Moderation as are best both to pre-
serve and restore the health of all States and
kingdoms, keeping to the dictates of his Con-
science, rather than yielding to the importu-
nitie's of the People, to what was just, rather
than what was safe, save only in the Earl
of Straffords case, wherein he yeilded to the
publick necessity with his Royal Master, but
repented with him too, sealing his Contriti-
on for that miscarriage with his blood, when
he was more troubled for his forced consent
to that brave Persons death than for losing
his own life; he ventured through the first
war, and by his Engagement in the second,
for after the surrendar of Oxford he retired
to his own house but could not rest there un-
til the King was brought home to his, which
all England endeavouring as one man my
Lord adventured himself at Colchester to
Extremity, yeilding himself upon Condition of
Quarter, which he urged by the Law of
Arms, that Law that governeth the World;
Yet (as he said,) against the Law of
God

Arthur Lord CAPEL.

God & man, for keeping the first Commandment he was sacrificed upon the Scaffold at Westminster, with a courage that became a clear Conscience, and a resolution befitting a good Christian, expressing that same judicious Piety at his death, which he did in this Incomparable Book of his Meditations in his life, A Reply that was it appeared by his admission of his Complaints, and therefore initials of that famous Devotion, before he came to the Scaffold, It was rather his inward frame and habite, than outward Oration or Pomp, from the Noble sentiment whereof, the Poet not unhappily alluding to his arms, A Lyon Rampant in Field Gules, between two Crosses thus expresseth it:

Our Lyon-like Capel undaunted stood
Betwixt two Crosses in a Field of Blood.

It is one that affrighted death rather than affrighted by it. It being very observable, That a learned Dr. of Physick present at the opening and Embalming of this Lord, and the Duke Hamilton delivered at a publick Lecture, That the Lord Capel was the best heart, and the Dukes the greatest that ever he saw; Agreeable to that Observation in Philosophy, That the Spirit is contract ed within the least compass, with the cause of the greatest courage.

Two things are espisciallye in this Image
parable Person, 1. In his uniuersall hum-
blet bearing peace with his infidels. 2. That
breath was fired in proclaiming King Charles
the second in the very face of his Enemies,
as knowne to him to be Kirtuous, Noble, Cle-
ver, Just, and a great Prince; and this
Great merite and wondresse whereof King
Charles the first made also to her Maiestie
the Queen. There is one that doth not
yet pretend, who deserves as well as
any, I mean Carel; Therefore I desire
thy assistance to find out something for
him before he asketh.

He was a Religious man, who used to say
that when he had kepe the Sabbath well, he
found the greater blessing upon all he did
afterward. He was good in all his civi-
laze Relations, in the severall publick
Capacities, especially in that of a husband
of which State he saith, that it doubled
his joys, divided his grief, and created new
and unthought of Contentment; A Sober
man who loved not to hear a man talk of
things irrationallly. He used Recreations
only for refreshing his Body and mind; He
made his Servants and Dependentes almost
as familiar as his friends, none was more
strict in the Discipline of his Family, nor
more obliging in the service of his congers,

He said he observed that the disobedience of man to us was no other then the punishment of our disobedience to God. He was the meekest man living, that had the Art as well as the grace by yielding to pacify wrath; He was a discreet Person, who would not suffer the Infelicity of one of his affairs to dis temper him so, as to lose all Consideration to guide him in the rest, always retaining the decency of his own natural evenness, saying, That he was a wise man that was able to make wise men his Instruments; He was a good Father that to procure a blessing in the Education of his Children, dayly offer ed up Prayers for them; He was a good Christian that set apart half an hour every day for his retirement to think of Eternity; He was a Nobleman that resolved to be happy in two things: A moderate using of the present, and an indifferent expectation of what is to come. He had a good expression and elegant scite as his own Letters here inserted do before delineate.

In those great differences betwixt the King and Parliament he constantly and faithfully adhered to his Majesty, contributing very much to his aid both in Purse and Person, and declaring openly in the House of Lords, That the Kings Majesty had granted so much for the security and Peace of the King-

Kingdom; that they who asked more intended the disturbance of it. He followed His Majesty to York, and with other Lords attested the Integrity of his Majesties Proceedings there in order to Peace; and promising to assist him with his life and Fortunes against all other pretended Authority in case it came to a War; notwithstanding he had a Summons from Westminster, to which he and others made a civil return; And likewise an Impeachment of High Treason, for going from Westminster to York at the Kings command, whereof he took no notice setting his Estate in Sir Edward Capel and other Trustees, who I find compounded for 4706 l. 7 s. 11 d. He advanced to his Majesty between eight and nine hundred Horse, and Twelve Thousand pound in money and Plate; and if he had had the happiness of being employed in his own Country (the fatal Error of that time) as he was in the borders of Wales, we had heard more of him. However we find him subscribing the Declaration of the Parliament at Oxford in 1643. and the Messages of Peace from the Army in the Field; attending his present Majesty to Cornwall, where he was hurt in two or three several Engagements once ventring himself very far to save the Foot. In 1644. he was nominated one of the Commissioners for his

his Majesty to manage the Treaty in Ul-
bridge; corresponding with the Members
at Westm^r in order to an Accommo-
dation, with great caution against their subtle
design, who would divide the Prince's Interest
and his Fathers; writing a Letter in De-
cember, 1645, in answer to that of Sir Thos.
Fairfax to the Prince, signifying the Prince's
desires of Peace, but that he would
not quit his Piety and Loyalty to the King.

In March, 1645. The Prince, the Lord
Capel and others put to sea in three Ships
from Pendennis Castle. In April, 1646.
The Prince, has a Trumpet made, an Answer
to the Parliament's invitation of him, desiring
a pass for the Lord Capel to go to the King
to make him some overtures from the Prince,
and that the Lord Primate of Armagh
might come to him. In September following
the Estates of the Lord Capel, Lord
Cottington, Marques^r of Winchester
Earl of Worcester, and Sir Charles Smith,
were by the Members at Westminster
voted to be sold to raise money for Ireland.
In 1648, when the King then seemed in
the Isle of Wight, some hopes being given of
his Restoration to his former Dignity by the
coming in of Duke Hamilton from Scotland
with a potent Army, as also of Langhorns,
Powels, and Poyets declaiming themselves
for

for His Majestie, together with the rising of
the Goddies in several places to the same
purpose the Lord Capel with a selected
number of his Friends & Associates and Servantes,
joined himself with the Lord Goring, Sr.
Charles Lucas and others, who with a
great Party were up in Arms in Essex, and
having valiantly defended Colchester for
the space of three months against a power-
ful enemy, finish'd with success, were at length
for want of Provisions (having eaten all the
Horses, Dogs, Cats, and whatsoeuer was most
reduktive to Nature) were forced to yield
back, and abanctures, the Superior Officers
namely, the common Soldiers with the loss
of their flying Garments. In this Siege the
Lord Capel wonderfully encouraged the
Souldiers by his own Example, going with an
Alber on his shoulder to their Watch & keep-
ing Guard in his turn, paying six pence, or
threepence a shot for all the Enemies Bul-
lets the Souldiers could pick up, charging the
first day of the Siege at Headgate, where
the Country was most pressing with a Pike till
the Game should be find, which at last was but
penned in his Case. By the Arrivall of W^m the 11th
By the Arrivale of Agreement with the
General Fairfax, the Royalists could not but
imagine, but that they had ascertained their
wthre, yet Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir
George

Georgelliste were short of death, which to all discerning men, must seem strange and unusual. The Lord Capel, & Lord Goring, and others, were sent to the Tower, and taking notice soon after of an Order of the House of Commons for Impeaching them of High Treason, they sent Letters to inform them, that Quarter was given them by the General, which had writ to the House to that purpose; whereupon the General explained himself, That the Quarter given did not extend to any other but the Military Power, and that they were notwithstanding liable to Tryal and Judgment by the Civil Power; But of this Recording, and mischievous distinction I hope none of this Nation will ever have a further notice.

After this a pretended High Court of Justice was erected, where the Lord Capel among others was brought, but he never minded nor looked upon the Court, but cast an austere look upon the People on all sides, pleading, That he was a Prisoner to the Lord General, and had Conditions given him, and his life promised him, that if all the Magistrates in Christendom were combined together they could not call him in Question. After a short formal Tryal, he was condemned, he only saying, That however he was dealt with here

here he hoped for a better resurrection hereafter.

March. 9. 1648 was the fatal day appointed for the Execution of the sentence of death upon Duke Hamilton Earl of Cambridge, the Earl of Holland and the Lord Capel, where this Lord behaved himself like a stout Roman, with that courage and resolution as was to be admired; But as to his carriage and speech, and likewise how excellently, he bestowed his time in the Tower, employing his thoughts more for the safety of his Majesties life than his own, the following Contemplations and Letters published by a Reverend Divine intimated conversation with him (and with whom he spent his last hours) do sufficiently demonstrate.

EXCELSIUS
Tunc poterat ne res quae misere-
reantur Tunc poterat resumere quae
non cessent in Cœlesti. Tunc etiam
poterat in Cœlesti, poterat conser-
vare quae non cessent in Cœlesti.
POTERAT

be more than a body **XCELLENT**
Meditations,

Divine and Moral.

If we religiously observe the Sabbath unto God we may with assured hope expect a plentiful increase, (by our honest labour) to our ensuing enterprises.

If Man in *innocency* needed a help, solace, and comfort, and Marriage was all these, how deficient were our (now miserable) lives without it! For besides, that it doubles joys, and divides griefs, it creates new and unthought-of contentments. And yet I have observed many that unwisely lose the blessings of wedlock: nay worse, that of good Wives have made

made the sharpest Vinegar. Not much unlike an ignorant Artificer, that having a most curious piece of marble to work on, yet through unskilfulness hath framed so mishapen a stane, that himself loathed the sight of it: whereas a good Artist would out of materials not altogether so compleat, frame a work not unpleasant.

III.

Garrulity is so irksome to society, that we seldom find it welcomed. For as it betrays the parties weakness, who cannot possibly, strongly ratiocinate such variety of propositions: so he cannot but many times fall into those discourses, which mens particular affairs or studies indear them too, or upon those persons (though absent, whom the present company are interested in, either by affinity, or (which is more) by Amity.)

-of glars bebeen IV. coniugia M 31
25. There is no difficulty greater, than to remove another mans affections from those persons, that either his present use, or a crafty dissimulation of goodness hath gained. For if his present use had caused it, then they think those that dissuade, would perswade their prejudice. If a subtle counterfeiting of Virtue, then the more honest

honestie the party is that is to be dissipated, the adventure of effecting it will be the greater; and the more hazard of losing your own reputation with him. For so the opinion he hath of the others goodness, will endanger in him a suspect of your malice; and therefore in this must be used great circumspection.

I am, &c. in V. v. 1. know

Recreations have their due place in our life, and not without good profit both to the mind and body. To the body for health, to the mind for refreshing. Yet we may observe many that perpetually live in them, not using, but serving them; and so over-mastered by them, that their best fortunes are not employed so willingly, to the advantage of any necessary or good occasion, as to be ingulfed in idle pastime. This is too frequent a vanity.

In a State necessitous and hungry, these doon are happiest that content themselves with a moderate wealth. For the fattest Deer are most shot at; and the leanest dove longest.

gaining Occasional Government, as it is discretion in the master of a Family not to neglect a severe discipline toward the insolent

infoliit and wilful failur of his Servants, llo it is not his wisdom favourable to receive an ingentious iudgement from them, of thole slips which know anfisly, or inevitable chance may cast them upon? For their five commandments but the ~~and~~ service of him inviteth the heare affections: And a wile man would willingly have his servants (as I may call them) his servile friends.

ed or drownd alonge body **VII** medium you haue
The greatest of all sinnes commandment most justly appropriate the punishment! For sinnes disobedience in Paradise was so much the more extreme, as the precept was easie, and therefore most justly rewarded with heawthy punishment! For where the punishment of the breach of obedience was so great, and the precept so easily kept; who can at full relate the guilt of that sin that brake it, standing neither in awe of the Commanders Majestie, nor fear of the terrible affliction following the breach? And we may very fleshy observe, that odurs disobedience to God is punished with disobedience. For what is mans misery but his own disobedience to himselfe & the flesh daily warling against the spiriit, and innumerable impossible deserts daily fighting against Religion. There

There are dispositions that will be displeased, either for the omitting, or acting the self same things. If we be tyed to these either by natural or civil respects, we must carry our selves with great caution: And one of the best ways is (if conveniently it may be done) to pretend an ignorance of the thing, or of their will. If this fall not happily in our way, then it is best to let them ventilate their own absurd humor, without our contestation: for Arguing kindles the fire more inward.

X.

The assaults of impudent liars are frequent and endless; and though most manifestly detected, yet their shameless wickedness will seldom be quelled. But yet we may often observe their contrary reports to fight one against another (like Cadmus earth-born children) to their own destruction.

XI.

Few there are but do love knowledge, but the reason why there are so few that are knowing is, because the entrance of all Arts and Sciences is difficult: and though most are delighted with the amiable parts of learning or wisdom in other

ther men, and desire no be like qualified; yet they imitate not their indefatigable industry by which they ascended to that eminent height. Against them standeth not only guile,

but living to [stricken] kill'd in this world or be

In presentments it is great Generosity to bestow that which will deserve acceptance. But if friends desire those things which are of instant value, then it is not un-worthily done to satisfie them in those courtesies, which we our selves would think too slight for them. But I observe many of rich fortunes, that with much circumlocution and instance, will press poor and slender presents upon those that no whit affect them. As if one should go into the fields and gather a handfull of common flowers, and with great formality and importunity should make present of them to one who hath a curious garden of Tulips.

XIII.

The conditions of men in society are divers: but three are most observable. The Open, the Concealed, lastly, the Well-tempered, betwixt these! The first are of so thin a composition, that a man may by a little converse see as easily through them, as if they were made of glass; for in every discourse they unlock to you their

their most inward secrets. The second sort are so tenacious and closely moulded, that they seem like those Coffers that are shut fast, and no discovery can be made where they are to be opened. These, as they are of less *delight* for society, so of less *hazard* to be trusted. But the last and best composed are like those Cabinets, that are not with difficulty to be closed; and they discover to you many things *pleasant* and *profitable*: but yet so *cunningly devised*, that there will be some secret box that neither your eye nor wit can take notice of whereth is deposited their proper and incomunicable *treasures*.

XIV.

It is as great a misery to be exposed to the converse of a contradicting spirit, as to be shut up in an infectious house. For I have observed as calm and quiet natures as can be, by continual commerce with those tempestuous dispositions, much altered and infected. And there may be a transition of qualities from one disposition to another by converse, as well as of water from the fountain to the river by pipes.

XV.

If God should have demanded of Man

Man how many days of seven he would give to his service, three I am perswaded, would have been the fewest, as being but the lesser part of seven. And what good nature can willingly deny half to him that gave all? But God dealing so graciously as to separate but one, how greatly should his goodness incite us not to deprive Him of the least minute of it, nay not to cast a thought towards our worldly busyness or pleasures on that day?

XVI.

I observe divers, who have many affairs, that by the infelicity of one are so distempered, that they lose all consideration to guide themselves in the rest. Nay the loss of a trifle shall nullify all the contentments of millions of enjoyed blessings; like that Master of a Ship that should neglect the Compass, Main Mast and Stern of the Ship, because some slight Flag is lost.

XVII.

No man can live in this world, and not be interested in the affairs of this world. The best way of guidagee in them is, to walk with the advice of wise and cordial friends. And if it happens (as many times it doth) that in the same affair his judgment

If men approveth not the same courses
that mine doth, yet in following my own
liking I would ever incline and lean to-
wards his advice.

XVIII.

*Biting jests, the more truth they carry
with them, the broader scarred memory they
leave behind them. Many times they
are like the wounds of chewed bullets,
where the ruggedness causeth almost incur-
able hurts.*

XIX.

I have seen many, who have much laboured themselves to imitate other mens plausible humours. But it was seldom or never without a flatness, if not absurdity; For it rarely happens, that one mans cloaths fit compleatly upon another, for all proportions seldom concur. Neither can any assume anothers humour, but there will appear either some defect or redundancy, which will miss that natural evenness that renders men pleasant.

XX.

It cannot be denied but that Education hath a considerable power to qualifie, but never to nullifie the proper nature of any thing. For set the eggs of divers fowls under one hen, and when they are disclosed the kite will be ravenous, the duck

will love the water, and every one will prosecute its natural conditions. But use this example as more expressive. Take the youngest wolf-whelp, employ the greatest art to make it gentle and loving, and you will find it altogether impossible: it will neither be forced nor intreated from its natural *cruelness* and *cruelty*. I shall therefore earnestly pray, that God would infuse a soul into my child, indued with sweet conditions: and if it be otherwise, I will not neglect all fit means to temper the worst, but never hope to effect an absolute extirpation, but by the miraculous power of Him, who can make from bitter fountains to deflow sweet waters.

XXI.

On Propinquity in blood challengeth a natural affection: and none but monsters are insensible of its secret efficacy. But it foreteth us not to repose the confidence of our most secret affairs upon them. For that I will advise my self of the *virtue* of the Person, not of the Alliance: and yet a well-qualified kinsman should more willingly be entertained than an acquaintance.

XXII.

Our life is but a moment of time between two Eternities of infinite beginning and never ending. It is the middle point of a perpendicular line, and but a punctum, a thing of no sensible being, but imaginary, from which if we ascend by holy meditations, Faith, and good works, we shall attain to a never-ending beatitude; but if from it we descend by carnall thoughts, sensual appetites, and evill actions, we shall be perpetuated in everlasting torments. Great therefore is the consequence of this minutes disposure. God, I beseech him even for my Christ his sake, often incite me in this meditation.

XXIII.

In Monarchies, if the Times be unfortunate, the clamours are all thrown against the suprem Magistrate. But if a moderate wise man consider of it, he will find that from the negligent and corrupt execution of justice in subordinate Ministers, proceed the most mischiefs of the Common-wealth. But the reasons, why the highest Magistrates undergo the calumnies, are three. First, Because greatness is the Object of envy. Secondly, Because the number of inferior Magistrates exceeds, and they, willing

to excuse their own faults, make the greater noise. Thirdly, As in the body we chiefly fix our eye upon the highest part, the face, and a mole or scar there more discontents the sight, then a greater deformity in any other member of the body: so in a Body politick we do more heedfully observe the faults of the eminentest personages.

XXIV.

An impudent lyers calumnyation (though detected) yet the person to whom such report is made, howbeit satisfied for the time, yet his mind is shaken, which will appear upon any probable occasion (tho not real) which shall resemble such false reports, as have been made of the party falsely accused. And therefore subtle Lyars are bold and confident; for something (they think) will stick.

XXV.

I observe many, who think to gain much of mens affections by interesting themselves in their businesses, and are so pragmatick, that they will never be wanting of projects. But these commonly miss much of their aim. For of undertakings, not one of ten is perfectly atchieved; and commonly men do oftner blame their Agents, than the unavoidable casualties of

of humane affairs. And so this sort of Business-mongers either receive cold thanks for their labour, or else quite lose the esteem they expected. But the wisest way is, hardly to be intreated; except we go almost upon infallible ground to accomplish.

XXVI.

Nemo nascitur sapiens: and certainly he who hath not tryed both fortunes, is a child, and but weakly understands either. For who knows the sweetness of rest, but he who hath been over-toyled? Nay, a man cannot be vertuous without adversity. Where were patience without crosses? where fortitude without resistance? and so all the rest have their opposites for their exercise. Never was excellent piece of work made without cuttings, nor wise man without afflictions. Therefore it were folly to fear them, and (no paradox to say) unhappy to want them; but wisdom it is to profit by them.

XXVII.

I observe, that nothing bath broken friendly society more than much arguing and though amongst men of judgment and good temper, profit may be made by it, yet the inherent pride that is in all men, much disdains to suffer their opinion to be

contradicted: never considering how-imperfect our knowledg is in the most easie matters. And it happens to *Argumentators*, as it doth to *Wrestlers*; though they begin for sport, yet he that receives the foil, never will leave till he hath a foul fall; and then ever after bears a secret malice. But some have that facility, that they will wisely guide their opposites arguments, and not directly contradict them. These come off fairly.

XXVIII.

Many entire friendships have been put out of joyst by the decision of Meum and Tuum. And when both have casualties fallen beyond their expectation, yet both fwell so big with inordinate desire of more, that it bursts all their former amity. And it is the hardest thing in the world to preserve and continue love with those friends that question it.

XXIX.

My Dear Saviour, inspire me with the true apprehension of thy infinite love towards me who descendedst from the top of Majesty to the lowest degree of Scrutinity, didst debase thy self to exalte me, cloathedst thy self with mortality to invest me with immortality, wert poor to enrich

enrich me, enduredst the reproach of thine enemies, to reconcile me to thy most justly incensed Father. Could I but truly conceive any part of this immense love, I could not but return more to Thee ; to thine : I should then forget injuries from my weak Brethren, love my most malitious enemies, hate none but those that undervalue this great goodness whereas now mine affections are guided by my personal interests.

XXX.

In this tempestuous world, no line holds, the Anchor of contentment so fast, as a good Conscience. Man's favour is but a fine thred, that will scarcely hold one tug of a crafty tale-bearer. Honour slips the noose, when vulgar breath, wearyed with constant vertue, is more affected to novelty. Riches are gnawn asunder by the greedy teeth of devouring Leviathans, cruel Tyrants. But this Cable is so strong and well compaet, that when force is offered to it, the straining rather strengthens, by uniting the parts more close.

XXXI.

Unhappy is that man, that steers the comfort of his life by the pleasing of others. But let us make honesty the mark we sail by, and so steadily let it be, that we neither

advance forwarder for vain aplanſe; nor retire for fear of detraction. But let our course be like the Sun, that neither hastens nor slackes for al our intreaties. But most men live according to opinion or fashion, which is full of variety and therefore of perturbation, leaving the direct rule of wisdom, which renders us tranquill.

XXXII.

He that loves play, and yet can govern himself in it, will hardly be moved to passion in more serious and necessary occasions. For that which vexeth, is the miss of expectation; and play is nothing. But a frequent expectation of hazard, and those that use it have continually curst assaults by it.

XXXIII.

The wearied man desires the bed, the discontented man, the grave: Both would fain be at Rest.

XXXIV.

Two sorts of enemies most dangerous, and both inseparable from the miserable condition almost of all men; but altogether of men of great fortunes, the Flatterer, the Lyar: one strikes before, the other behynd; both insensibly, both dangerously.

XXXV.

A mean freedom is more naturally affected, than a golden servitude. The poor birds prefer their liberty, though in a hard frost, before full feeding and warm being in a close cage. This is the reason who many quite good services, and betake themselves to a more laborious yet freer condition.

XXXVI.

If the Deity humbled it self so much as to joyn with humanity ; nay more, so as to suffer the most servile condition of our nature; what commendation is it of Humility, that to be like him, (who thought it no robbery to be equal with God) is to be humble ? Lord make me poor, so I may be but rich in humility. Debase me in all other respects, so I may be honoured with this Grace. O let me be indigent in all other things, so I may superabound in this. Go yet further along with me, my meek Saviour, that this Meditation may not be transient, but often serious and effectual.

XXXVII.

In heat of argument men are commonly like those that are tyed back to back, close joyned, and yet they cannot see one another.

XXXVIII.

Many there are that affect an hyperbolizing kind of discourse, and had rather be thought *large talkers*, than *moderate speakers*. This Rhetorick takes children and foots, but is ridiculous to *knowing men*.

XXXIX.

Some there are that use a foppish kind of subtlety, and under a *fools cap* exercise a *knaves wit*, making *simplicity* the excuse of their *impudence*: and *impudence* is the *engine* they hook in their profit with, when indeed none are such fools as those that are caught by their *stale*.

XL.

Unhappy condition of man that daily *bums* abroad for *felicity*, and never finds it. If he could but reflect his meditation upon himself, he might in a good measure possess it, by a *moderate using of the present*, and an *indifferent expectation of what he loves and desires*. But our *longings* are importune, and the *use* of the present inordinate, and thus we are defrauded of all *substantiall delight*.

XLI.

It is humanity to use Servants *gently*, and not *slavishly*: but on the other side, to give any one too much *superiority*, is the way,

way to discourage the rest, make him insolent, and your self contemptible.

XLII.

In business with other men, it is good to prosecute our own desires (though most reasonable) with moderation, and not with distrust or opposition; for that will incite spleen: and men are apt enough to continue what they have in their hands, be it either command, or wealth. And if they be violently assaulted, though we gain our desires, yet it is not without knocks. Certainly he is a great crafts-master, that can shadow the opposition that businesses have one against another.

XLIII.

It is admirable that the reward of our imperfect and finite service here, shall be perfect and infinite glory hereafter. But it is impossible to be otherwise, (yet nor in respect of us, or our desert, but of God) because his mercy being boundless and infinite, should else be terminare, and Gods greatest attribute should suffer. Lord! that I may often contemplate this with admiration! admire with gratefulness! be thankfull with love! love with obedience! and obey with cheerfulness!

XLIV.

Among all the conditions that men are sorted

sorted into, there is none that renders us perfectly happy. *Crowns are set with thorns: with Riches desires increase: Honour is envied, often blasted: Poverty pincheth.* And in my observation the meaner-esteemed fortunes are really to be valued the better, but especially those that least incite inordinate affects.

XLV.

That which wise liberality bestoweth, is not lost, but may happily prove the best Interest. For so various is the world, that those, who now want our bounty, may recompense us in the like misery. For this there are many examples.

XLVI.

Those that have an imperfect speech, it is great discretion in them to esteem silence wisdom: Yet to addict themselves to an active form of complement without affection, and a serene countenance.

XLVII.

Wise and happy is that man that will not be drawn to commit either an indecent or dishonest Act, for love, hatred or gain.

XLVIII.

Many in gaming are like drunken men, so heated with ill fortune, that the civil carriage of others, can hardly safe-guard them

them from their *quarrelsom distemper*. These should correct themselves from this poor *humour*, which if they cannot, they must fly from play as from a *Basilisk*.

XLIX.

Those that behave themselves with an uneven and *captious conversation* towards others, are but tell-tales of their own *unpeaceable* and miserable *unjetled minds* within themselves.

L.

Lord, Thou hast heaped *Blessings* upon me, if thou make them *true Blessings* by guiding me in the use of them. The *Philistines* had once thy *Ark* amongst them, but it was a sensible *curse to them*: but to thy *Israel*, thy great *mercy*. O make me thine, otherwise these *blessings* will be insensible *maledictions*; great occasions to draw me on to sordid, base *affections*.

LI.

Expence is not the only thing that *craks mens estates*, but the regardlesness of *what* and *how we spend*. For men of *great fortunes* I have seen enjoy *no more*, neither in substance nor shew, than those of less who have sided with them in the *same courses*; yet the *greater* have *perished*, and the *less held up*. For the *most provident may spend most*.

Few

LII.

Few have the wisdom in ~~adverserhings~~
to use previdance before them, circumspection
in them, and patience after them: but are
commonly improvident, negligent, and per-
turbated in the undue seasons. But in re-
mediless occurrences it is the best wisdom of
man to be ~~infersible~~.

LIII.

Instable are the resolutions of women, and as
their flexible natures may be instruments
of great good, if their happiness be to affect
honesty and discreet friends: so there is no
folly so great, but they will confidently
prosecute it, if they either rest upon their
own feeble judgment, or unfortunately
repose themselves on such men, that re-
spect their own commodity beyond the va-
lue of their reputation.

LIV.

To those that are wilfully bent against
any good conceit of us, it will prove but
trouble without success, to endeavour by
servile obsequiousness to gain them. The
better way is, by a constant fair carriage
to expect that time may ripen the fruit,
which ~~hast~~ cannot: and too hasty shak-
ing throws down the sower with the
sweat.

LV.

Complement may be used, but not usually like sweet-meats, (entertainment for strangers, or great personages) which keep their taste, if rarely served, but if commonly, prove nauseous.

LVI.

I would take reports, but especially those of servants, with divers *Querries*. For many times they are the bane of undiscreet credulous persons.

LVII.

The true Christian man looks not backward, but forward ; nor Pharisically prides himself to see those that are worse than himself, but encourageth himself to reach the perfection of the best ; stands not still, like milposts, that rot in the places where they were set. All his life is a race, a progression.

LVIII.

Vain attempts, as they are the loss of labour and time ; so they are the discredit and infamy of the undertakers.

LIX.

In all the unhappy actions of our life, there is a destined precipitation, where our will and self-conceit out-goes our consideration and judgment.

Those

LX.

Those whose *desires* and *expectations* are moderate, have their *afflictions* and *troubles* not intolerable.

LXI.

I have seen many, that desiring to make themselves *pleasant companions*, have fallen into the habit of most *ridiculous actions* and *discourses*.

LXII.

Sharp and bitter *jest*s are blunted more by neglecting, than by responding; except they be suddenly and wittily retorted. But it is no imputation to a mans *wisdom* to use a *silent scorn*.

LXIII.

There is much delight in the society of men of *witty* and *pleasant* discourse: But if they be not qualified with true *honesty*, we shall pay *dear* for our *sport*, if we entertain them into any strict *familiarity*.

LXIV.

The life of a *Christian*, though it be the *highest profession*, yet none are so *excellent* or *perfect*, but that even by them much is to be *learnt* and *unlearnt*. And here in this world we are alwaies *Disciples*, that is, *learners*. A good lesson to take down our natural *pride*, which puffs us up with so much *self-conceit*, that

that we think our selves rich and cloathed
when we are miserable and naked.

LXV. *Valuek 25. Virtute*

It requires a good temper to endure
contradictring spirits: but they are best vi-
lenced by silence.

LXVI. *Valuek 26. Vtate*

It is hard for human frailty alwaiies to
keep solsure a guard of words and actions
but that sometimes by them it will fall
into inconvenience, if not mischief. There-
fore it is more ingenuous by gentle ac-
knowledgment to confess a fault, than
with an unblushing impudente to maintain
it. And inhumane it is with proud arro-
gance to insult over a penitent delinquent.

LXVII.

No decent fashion is unlawful. And if
fashions be but a diversified decency with-
out question it is but a Cynical singularity
either to exclaim against, or not sociably to
use them.

LXVIII. *Valuek 27. Vtate*

Wealth without friends, is like life with-
out health. The one an uncomfortable for-
tune, the other a miserable being.

LXIX. *Valuek 28. Vtate*

I have observed a malicious-kind of
Flattery; not onely to please, or gain from
the party flattered; but to circumvent, or
mischief

mischief a third person. As it is rarest, to worst: For it as much exceeds common flattery, as Adultery, Fornication.

LXX.

It is a hard thing to be a true friend. For many times in acting the part of a true friend to one we love, we not onely lose familiarity, but procure hatred. And I scarce know a man that is capable of a true friend.

LXXI.

Let our thoughts and actions towards God be pious, to our neighbour charitable, toward our selves sober: and our present life will be peaceable, our memory praised, and our happiness eternall.

LXXII.

The depraved nature of Man affects what he should not, though more laborious than that which is required.

LXXIII.

Industry to get, and Frugality to keep, are the infallible worldly means to raise great Fortunes.

LXXIV.

In the heat of Summer we easily believe there will come a season of Frost and Snow; yet in our prosperity we consider not of adversity; yet the one is as successive as the other.

The

LXXV.

The *idle man* is more perplexed what to do, than the *laborious* in doing what he ought.

LXXVI.

God deliver me from the society of those, who fear not the *infamy* of an evil action.

LVII.

It is a quality commendable, not to pretermite things of *moment*, which may instruct the *judgment*. But it is a note of a *vain mind*, to hunt after every trivial ga-
rish pomp, or *shew*.

LXXVIII.

Though *children* to our common apprehension proceed from the *conjunction* of *man and woman*, and usually we look no further, yet even for their *bodies* (the baser part) we must account our selves but the *less principal agents*. For how cometh it to pass that one is *lame*, another *blind*? one *defective*, another *redundant*? If we make them, why are they not then *perfect*? if a limb afterward perish, why do we not restore it?

LXXIX.

Great men ought to be most careful how they give *publick disgrace* to the meanest persons upon light occasions: For as

as their *greatness* is able to defend them from others *injuries*; so the *offences* given by them make a deeper impress, than those of *mean* or *equal* persons; because we hope and desire credit and countenance from them. Besides, the most *exalted fortunes* have little contentment without some *popular good will*.

LXXX.

Most men that affect *sports* account them a principal part of their life: and that I conceive to be the reason, why they prosecute them with so much *affection*; and if *cross* in them, demonstrate too much *passion*. But to consider truly of them they are but *pastime*, little removed from *lose time*. And if their insinuating *delight* to steal us from our more *necessary occasions*, yet it is absurd to suffer any perplexity for them, when they fall out *crossly*, or to be *dangled* by them at their best.

LXXXI.

Great respect it is to inform a friend wisely and fully of his error: but if one perceive him *immoveable*, then it's better to content our self with the *integrity* of our intention and *faithful respect*, than to proceed further. For it will be without profit to both, it may be with inconvenience to

to our friend. For the Smith's Anvil is the harder for blows.

LXXXII.

I will sometimes conceal a secret from my most entire friend, or at least for some space. For otherwise he may think I have delivered the rest more out of facility, than confidence in him : nay, I will do it to make trial of myself.

LXXXIII.

I never saw men that crowd themselves into business, happy. For if they proceed luckily, it prides them (for we cannot carry our selves evenly in the prosperity of those things we affect ;) and then they are envied : If unfortunately or unwisely, it dejects them, and then they are scorned.

LXXXIV.

Moderation in diet, sleep and exercise, are especial means to prolong and make healthful our days.

LXXXV.

The true Christian is the most valiant, the most wise man that is. Valiant he is, for his whole life is a warfare against the world, the flesh, and the Devil : Wise and most prudent he is, for he so well expends his minute of time here, that he may live eternally happy hereafter.

Many,

LXXXVI.

Many, who are *Dunces* in their own professions, will undertake to dispute like *Doctors* in every other *Art*. But I know not a greater probate of folly than this: for besides that it manifests an *unsetled mind*, to pursue such *diversity*; he cannot chuse but betray his own *ignorance* in *every thing*, who is so ill skill'd in his own *Art*.

LXXXVII.

If I intend to *give*, I will not so long *delay*, as to suffer *importunity*: for then I rather *sell* than *give*: for what is got by *prayers, intreaties, submissions*, is ever accompanied with *shame*; and it is a *dear purchase* that is so bought. Yet many there are that never give without it, and have neither the *skill* nor *generousness* to *find out fitting objects* for their *liberality*.

LXXXVIII.

Nothing is unsuperable to diligence and patience. But they shall be things of high *excellence or value* that shall put me to that *exercise*. For otherwise the life of *Gally-slave* were to be preferred.

LXXXIX.

Goods hastily gotten keep like *summer fruit*, little distance between their *generation and corruption*.

XCV.

A wise man will not speak the truth at all times : nor an honest speak an untruth at any time.

XCI.

The conscience that is stained but with one self-knowing dishonest action, is with much labour restored, either to peace or purity. For when we waver between dishonest commodity and probity, and are corrupted by the worse, if our nature be ingenuous, shame and infamy will like a thorn, never suffer us to stir without pricking ; or else the vile disposition of the ill act will so defile us, that it will render us impudent.

XCH.

There are three things requisite in a Christian ; Purity of heart, verity of speech and goodness of action.

XCI.

Quarrels are easily begun, hardly avoided, and difficultly ended. For what one hath done, either cannot undo, but muuall consent must make the accord perfect.

XCIV.

In sickness our distemper makes us loath the most natural meat : In anger our fury makes us vilifie the most wholesome ad-
vices.

Obstinacy

XCV.

Obstinacy is advantage to our enemies, trouble to our friends, and the assured overthrow of our selves.

XCVI.

Speedy prosecution crowns a preconsidered action; yet after consultation there must be a season of ruminatⁿ before execution.

XCVII.

It is frequent with many, upon every slight and trivial demand to pawn their reputation. A most inconsiderate thing For what is so often lent, and passeth so many hands upon every occasion, cannot but lose much of its lustre, and receive soil.

XCVIII.

The ear is as much dulled and blunted with a tedious discourse, as an instrument is with much using.

XCIX.

Is pain, sickness and loss so contrary to us? and health, wealth, and pleasure, so amiable to our nature? Here on earth we cannot have one sort without the other. O my God make me therefore wise unto salvation; that I may have always pleasure and never pain, health without danger of sickness, an abyss of wealth without fear of loss.

The

C.

The delight, that *news* gives to the *ear* is like that of *smelling* to the *nose*. We gather a flower, smell to it, and throw it away; we ask, what news? hear it, and consider no more of it.

CI.

Difficulty of achievement stupifies the *sluggard*, advises the *prudent*, terrifies the *fearfull*, unimates the *courageous*.

CII.

I will obey my parents, honour my superiors, love my equals, respect my inferiors, wife and children shall be dearer to me than my self. But none of all these, nay, nor all these shall be prized by me like Truth. Nay, what are all these if truth be wanting, which is the ligament that binds all these together?

CIII.

Even to a considerate man, that hath preconsulted the little pleasure, the great hazard, it is hard to deny himself his own desires. The gowry man will drink wine though it cost him a fit. And this may be the difference between a *sapient* and a *prudent* man: That knows as much, if not more then this; but this guides himself by his knowledge, that is governed by his appetites.

C

No

CIV.

No man is born to so unhappy a condition, that he must *lie to live*: and therefore base is that spirit that will flatter to augment a competency; and little wit serves to flatter with. For how easily do they work that go with the grain?

CV.

As Light not only discovers the gross substances of things, but their figures and colours; so wisdom not only perceives the actions themselves, but the affections with which, and intents to which they were done.

CVI.

The eye only fees, and yet seeth not alone: for separated from the rest of the members it is deprived of that faculty: so the Grace of Faith onely justifies, yet it is dead if severed from good works.

CVII.

Rarity deceives the judgment. For what we have not formerly seen, we admire as excellent, before we consider. But wisdom first consults the nature and uses, and often finds sterility in those things which others wonder at; and contrarily, in those things which frequency makes despable, wisdom discovers good profit; in many things this age examples this: For

new and incommodious fashions of building, diet, cloaths, are more sought after than the despised, yet wise customs of our Forefathers.

CVIII.

As a curst and churlish entertainment is hateful to every Guest, so a ragging and too obsequious one to a free noble nature is loathsome.

CIX.

Perturbation to the mind is as smoke to the eyes. The one troubles the intellectual, the other the sensitive sight. In both there is pain and incumbrance.

CX.

Surely 'tis the property of wisdom to be slow of belief: for if by the observation of those that we are well acquainted with, we see such impudent forgeries; it is warning enough to a discreet man to be of temperate belief in common enterprizes, yet without the spirit of contradiction.

CXI.

Of great vain glory, but small vertue is that man that steals the praise of other mens actions, by relating them as his own. But these beggarly borrowers alwaies prove ignominious Bankrupts at last.

CXII.

He that loves not honesty solely be-

cause of its self, and the goodness and beauty that is in it; but partly for its self, and as much, if not more, because it holds a reputation in the world, will be found often intermitting.

CXIII.

No religious duty doth so purifie the heart, as the often receiving of the Sacrament; if we do it with serious examination. For that house that is oftnest swept, is cleanest.

CXIV.

If the question were asked me, what were the most beautiful thing in the world? I would answer, Honesty.

CXV.

A sick man distastes those meats which in health he delighted in: so those that have formerly loved and delighted in us, and are now displeased with us, even our best duties do disgust.

CXVI.

Nothing more common and general than death: and yet because it happens to particulars but once, and there is no knowing it twice, nothing more rare and strange. But since it is so certain, wise is the man that will not pretermit any occasion that may familiarize it to him; which will both take away the strangeness, and mitigate the terror of it.

Bunif.

CXVII.

Busie-bodies are like monkies, so full of medling, that at last they do themselves some shrewd turn.

CXVIII.

If there be any way to preserve ones self from the inconveniences humane frailty is apt to fall into, it is often to consider those actions and persons we love. For though our affections may carry us awry, and do, and their importunities will answer a single or slight consideration; yet it will hardly answer a serious and reiterated one, which will admit nothing that is either unprofitable or dishonest for our selves, or prejudicial to our friend, or neighbour. This rule serves only for those that are of honest dispositions. As for others, 'tis their study, either profit to themselves, or mischief to others.

CXIX.

It is seldom or never that a peremptory man either riseth to honour, or increaseth in wealth. For eminency in either of both these is attained unto by many circumstances, and many assistant helps and counsels. For one mans labour will do no great work.

CXX.

Sin when it tempts us with profit, it speaks like the Silverfish, that made shrines for Diana; Sirs, ye know that by this trade we get our living; If with pleasure, then like the blind watchmen Esay inveigheth against; Come I will fetch strong wine, and we will fill our selves with strong drink, and to morrow shall be as to day, and much more abundant.

CXXI.

The transitory being of all worldly things teacheth us, not to hope for a perpetuated delight from them.

CXXII.

Nothing torments a loving heart more than the loss of his favour he loved, and hath been benefited by, yet least feared would fail.

CXXIII.

There is an Art, which I may call the Civil Art: that is, to be free in courtesy, and loving in society; yet that neither of these shall encumber our own proper fortunes, for the advantage or pleasure of those who are no more than familiar Acquaintances.

CXXIV.

Heedless men have many times great advantages toward the attainment of wisdom,

wisdom, yet lose the kernel, because they will not crack the shell. But observing Judgments not only look at the action, (whose out-side may be profitable, though not pleasant;) but consider the circumstances, what was defective, what was well: so that they learn of wise men to be wiser than they, and have the after-wit (which they say is best) from others examples. And this is cheapest, though I confess not so impressive.

CXXV.

Too much to applaud a man to his face, though for a good action, is little removed from flattery: but to smooth ones imperfections is the very Quintessence of baseness.

CXXVI.

Servants, that have credit either with Master or Mistris, if they have honesty and discretion, may be profitable to both. Yet is not the commodity so great, as the mischiefs will be, if they have malicious and crafty heads for their proper ends.

CXXVII.

It is to a Christian consideration one of Gods greatest mercies, that this world is full of troubles. For if we so much court her now she is foul, what would we do if she were beautiful? if we take such

pains to gather thorns and thistles, what would we do for figs and grapes?

CXXVIII.

If we tender our own peace, we must not entertain those into our society and friendship that are of suspicious natures. For as it is a torment unto themselves, so will they never leave urging those they have familiarity with, with their idle and troublous apprehensions.

CXXIX.

True love pardons and suffers many imperfections. But not to take notice of scandalous crimes is not love but stupidity.

CXXX.

It is observable to see how absurdly men will force and strain all their wit to the maintaining of a ridiculous affection, by striving to make every good thing applicable to the commendation of it, and for the most part, most improperly.

CXXXI.

A gentle acceptance of courtesies, is as material to maintain friendly neighbourhood, as bountiful presents.

CXXXII.

It is good to suffer twice, before one complain once : for those that often, though justly complain, come with disadvantage ; especially if it be to a party that

that is not very favourable to them.

CXXXIII.

He that desires but what he may, may have what he desires: and therefore he that is scant in his desires, hath plenty even in a moderate estate.

CXXXIV.

To bear crosses and afflictions is the part of *Christian resolution*, yet *heathen morality* can act it. But to suffer them, and be thankful to God for them, is the sole and peculiar property of admirable *Christian Faith*.

CXXXV.

Few there are that will part with their affections to purchase Truth. For we easily credit the tale of a slanderer, whom we love, against an indifferent person; when we will scarcely indure the true relation of honest lips, in the true information of the vices and villanies of those we favour.

CXXXVI.

The inconveniences of promises are so many and dangerous, that it were better to be liable to the censure of being of a *tenacious disposition* (which nevertheless one may by wisdom avoid) than to be entralled by fettters of our own making; whereby we are inforced many

times to purchase our own liberty with the great discommodity of our own affairs; or else to break those shackles with that violence, that our reputation must suffer sore bruises.

CXXXVII.

Eminent evils are by providence diverted; those that are fatal, by patience endured, and all by wisdom profitably used.

CXXXVIII.

When the greatest, and those that should be the gravest Councils and Courts in a Common wealth are ordered tumultuously & contentiously, it is an apparent symptom of a sick and languishing State. For when the chief and those that are the first-moving wheels keep not true time, all the rest are misled.

CXXXIX.

Those that hastily censure other mens good or ill conduct of their affairs are commonly far off from the right judgment. For though prosperous event be the happiness of endeavour, yet circumstances are considerable parts of every undertaking; and he that is ignorant of these, barely and grossly knows the action, but not the nature of it. And especially those businesses, which have many agents and patients, cannot rightly be censured, but by

by those that well understand the parties.

CXL.

He that desires to gain and preserve a repute either of honesty, magnanimity, learning, or any other praise-worthy quality, must onely *consort* himself with men like affected: and by no means admit the society of men of *debauched* conditions. For though happily he may preserve himself from accompanying their foul acts, (which is difficult to do;) yet men of judgment do not discern a mans dispositions by any way better than by observing his *consortship*: and by that means he shall be reputed such a one.

CXLI.

To fear death, is alwaies to live in the pangs of death. For most true it is, Fear is more pain than pain.

CXLII.

It is worth the observation, to hear the poor man sing to his plow, and the rich man fret in his palace, and torment himself. This shews it is the mind, not the fortune, that makes us happy.

CXLIII.

The over labouring our thoughts in our affairs doth not enlighten, but thicken the judgment.

CXLIV.

The life of life is society; of society, freedom; of freedom, the discreet and moderate using it.

CXLV.

The greatest wisdom of speech is to know when, and what, and where to speak the time, matter, manner. The next to it is silence. For though silence seldom helps, yet sometimes it hath its advantage, but at the least it is innocent, and leaves us a perfect liberty without incumbrance; when men of many words are entangled.

CXLVI.

None so inferior, but the variety of occasion makes them often necessary: And therefore 'tis good discretion so to manage all sorts of men by our courtesy and affability, that they may with alacrity offer themselves to our purposes.

CXLVII.

It much conduceth to our tranquillity, not to animate expectation: for it both augments pain, and diminisheth pleasure. For if we fearfully expect evils, though unavoidable, we are then hurt before we be hit. If longingly we expect good things, then is the pleasure of the instant of enjoying despoiled; which is so much the greater,

greater, by how much the more *unlooked for*. Yet I deny not *providence* in our actions and lives; but I would qualify the *injury* that *expectation* will bring.

CXLVIII.

If we did as certainly believe, as we do often discourse of Gods providence in every action, it would give us courage in our enterprises, and patience in our sufferings. For if God have the over-ruling hand, and I make him my friend, when the undertaking is for my good, I fear not the power of any adversary ; for nothing is able to stand before him. But when my weak and sinful apprehension desires and endeavours that which I think good for me, but his most clear wisdom knows is hurtful ; if I miss my desire, there is not only cause of patience, but of thanksgiving.

CXLIX.

Those actions that are directed by reiterated considerations are not unlike things that are double-gilded; not only more beautiful, but more durable. And indeed time ever advantageth those courses: whereas hasty undertakings are like meteors, that amaze at first, but in time grow contemptible and vanish.

CL.

Many free dispositions have overthrown great fortunes; not altogether by their mere liberality, but through their ignorant dispensing their bounties, not considering the extrem of their gifts; which if they had advisedly thought on, might have been done in such a due measure, as their own undoing might have been saved, at least moderated. And giving untold handfuls is rather profuseness than Bounty.

CLI.

The common practise is, to vilifie other mens favours to magnifie our own: but better it is to antipractise this. For where men see their bounties augmented by the receiver, it is their encouragement to bestow more: And men will more gently be manaked with our benefits, when they can walk easily with them.

CLII.

It is an unpleasant sight, to see men follow their sports and recreations with fretting and chafing: Like the leak of a ship, the water that should carry it, downes it; so that, which should recreate, torments.

CLIII.

Those that are froward, and unwilling to receive replies, are double unhappy:

unhappy : because they are *indigent* of knowledge, and abhor the means to attain it.

CLIV.

How mad are men in their *mis-con-*
cents : and commonly in those they are
more *stubborn*, than *constant* in Truth.

CLV.

A Christian of all others must necessarily be the most *merciful* man. For he considering the great *debt* of his *sins*, and his little *ability of satisfaction*, and how freely these were satisfied for by another ; how can he be backward in forgiving others that are culpable to him ? Nay more the *condition* of his *pardon* stands but by the exercise of his *mercy* towards others.

Mat. 18. 33.

CLVI.

'Tis a great curse for a man to be given over to that *blindness*, that he loves *flatterers*, and hates *friends*.

CLVII.

A tedious condition it is, to be obliged to those, whose *forwardness* is more ick som, than their *bounties pleasant* or *ad-*
vantages.

CLVIII.

We shall receive more satisfaction from a *modest* man's discourse, than from a *confident* speaker; For that fears the

the detection either of folly, or untruth; this neither fears, nor declines any thing that should temper his forwardness.

CLIX.

Necessity was the parent of Industry: And if we enquire the original of great and admirable actions, we shall find that great mis necessities were their founders.

CLX.

The knowledge even of the meanest things is not to be slighted, for it may conduce to the conceiving of higher matters. For most of those things that are excellent, are of themselves, of so exalted a reach, that we cannot look upon them, except we raise our selves, higher than our selves, by standing upon things of inferior account.

CLXI.

It is good for our peculiar content, strictly to examine our own natural imperfections (and with as little reservation as may be;) for I doubt not, but we shall observe so much, as will make us better bear with the perverse injuries of others toward our selves.

CLXII.

Those, who look for perfect happiness any where but in God, who is the plenitude of all good things, are like the blind Sodomites,

Sodomites, who groped for the door of *Lots house*, but could not find it.

CLXIII.

Those, who have no other ways to preserve their reputation but by lying, are like them that assist the decayed natural heat of the stomach; are for the present refreshed, yet not preserved; but precipitated to their destruction.

CLXIV.

It is difficult to conceal either Love or Hatred. For there will be many emergent occasions, wherein the Heart cannot resist the discovery of its Affection.

CLXV.

Our passions are like the Seas, that of their own nature will swell and boil, but more if they be agitated by the winds: and passions are outrageous, if moved by external occasions. But as God hath set bounds to those, so we by his assistance should to these. So far they shall go, and no farther.

CLXVI.

To be direct and just in our dealing is a virtue most precellent: yet this alone is not enough to gain love. But this with a loving disposition never fails. But the most immediate mean of winning, is to be loving,.

For

CLXVII.

For those sharp jests, which we can as sharply and suddenly retort, we think our selves well enough revenged. But if we fail in that, then commonly we boil with hatred and revenge, and hold our selves engaged to answer that with cruelty, that we could not mirthily: which perhaps was spoken but merrily, though undiscrately.

CLXVIII.

Till silence be enjoyed to contention persons there will never be end of quarrels. For what hath been done by will composition, will be freshly wounded by ill-sorted language. O Lord help us.

CLIX.

It is a good Christian rule not to mind the doings of our brethren for the malicious report of the wicked, nor to flatter our selves for their commendations. For commonly to be praised by a wicked person, is to be praised for a wicked action.

CLXX.

Contentious persons are always busied in making nets for others. And it seldom fails, but in some they are caught themselves: and then none more unskillful how to extrangle themselves.

andis the mo His o^t GLXXI. o^t m^o v^o g^o w^o
Even enemies to a wise man are in some
sort friends, in many things more conno-
dious. For in some faults, tender friends
are loath to controle us, and our imperfe-
tions they are those that our enemis hunc-
tor. And a wise man will amend his faults,
though all men reproach him with them;
but a fool will be incensed to a more
fiercish peremptoriness, which will make him
and his doings. Ch. XXII.

How ignorant are the most learned,
that their bushwicks cannot decide what
to remedie in some things too credulous; and
others too incredulous; in some things under-
rating the power of nature and natural means;
in others too much advancing it. And the
most intelligent are liable to error.

The observation is what a change
things turn, (this man now in disgrace,
afterwards in favour, now happy, anon
miserable;) I should prepare our minds,
that no ill might come impetuously upon us,
nor the flattery of propositors sour and ef-
feminate our resolutions!

beginning of GLXXIV. o^t m^o b^o l^o s^w

Inconsiderate rashness may lessen the
evil of a mischance done by us, but it
cannot fully absolve us from it. For Rea-
son

son is given unto us, that in all our actions we should govern our selves by advice of it.

CLXXV.

Moderation of passions, judgement in counsel, dexterity in affairs, are the most eminent parts of wisdom: yet a wise man may be discerned in things of less consequence, as in apparel, servants, and sports. His apparel rather decent than costly; not hunting after novelties, nor cynick in what's obsolete. His servants enough for his use and quality; and those rather numbered by their fit places of service, than by their names. His sports sufficient to recreate, not satiate; and those generous, not rustick.

CLXXVI.

A godly man, that endeavours to be thoroughly acquainted with the corruption of his own heart, will censure more favourably of an injury done to himself, than to another: because he fears the violence of his own depraved affection will be too rigorous in its own interests,

CLXXVII.

We seldom see a man so tempered, that he is free either from base Sycophantizing, or surst Satyrizing.

When

CLXXXVIII.

When we are perswaded (or rather convinced) that the opinion of many, and it may be the most wise, is contrary, or at least not the same as ours is ; it should move us to these two things : First a more serious and weighty consideration, and then if our reasons cannot be satisfied with their arguments, yet in the second place it should impose silence upon ourselves.

CLXXXIX.

Honesty is silently commended even by the practise of the most wicked : for their ~~deeds~~ is under the colour of honesty. And simply considered, honesty is the best thing ; but wisely managed, it is the most profitable.

CLXXX.

It is not easie to impose the tongues silence upon the hearts grievance. But yet I would constrain it, though there were no prejudice, and indifferent occasion to disclose it : because till the importunity of affection were qualified, it would rather relish of passion than reason.

CLXXXI.

It is incredible how much one unquiet perverse disposition distemps the peace, prosperity and unity of a whole family or society

ciety. For they seldom stand alone, the matter, if they did so, were not great. But they having begun, then partaking and contrarieries arise; and the contagion spreads like a strong herb in porridge, every mans mess savours of it.

CLXXXII.

Those Frictions amongst friends that have not been timely composed, are like those joynts that were not presently set both more difficult to be set, and more painful sufferings in the setting.

CLXXXIII.

When Princes and great Magistrats commit heinous and trying sins, such as God punisheth a whole nation for, we must think Gods hand is in this sin, but not in the pravity of it; for that is against his liking; but permits it for a punishment for the people. The evil of the sin is theirs, the evil of punishment for sin is Gods.

CLXXXIV.

The common people like brute beasts, gone foolishly rushing into danger or tumult, all the rest follow: observing who leads, not whither.

CLXXXV.

Let us but wisely observe our selves,

and we shall see how strongly affection will plead against reason, for a matter of no account: Nay, where our persons and estates shall suffer much, and our affection enjoy but a momentary satisfaction. Neither doth affection alwaies press us peremptorily by absolute command, but often adventures to attack our reason by discourse, as it were rationally, but yet subtilly. Therefore by our selves we may easily conceive how advantagious a circumstance it is, to gain their affection with whom we have, or may have business.

CL XXXVI.

There is a base-conditioned sort of creatures, whose affections are bought and sold by Hopes.

CL XXXVII.

It is an example of a deplorable nature, and of the worst aspect, both in a publick state, and private family, to see detestable faults, not only not punished, but the perpetrating persons grow greater in favour, and more insolent in conditions.

CL XXXVIII.

A condemned person, not legally put to death, is murdered; not executed: and to judge ill of any unheard, is not bare injury, but high injustice.

Fowlers

CLXXXIX.

Fowlers set not the same sort of grims for the same kinds of fowls at all seasons of the year, but vary: neither do the crafts-masters of subtillity deceive, though the most ignorant Gulls, by one only trick For a very dogg will abhor that room whence he is often beaten.

CXC.

Guicciardini incites his country-men to their pristine vertue by remembiring them, That to be a Roman is a most glorious name, if accompanied with vertue; and their shame is doubled, if they forget the honour and renown of their Ancestours. But Christians have more reasons to enflame their hearts to zeal and piety; since their comportment is not only exposed to the view of men and Angels; but to almost pure essence; and strict observer, God himself. And what profession was ever honoured with better examples then ours, Christ and his Apostles?

CXCI.

That Master is never well served, that doth not carry an esteem with his servants who should be readier to believe their masters commandments are wise, than dispute it amongst themselves. And above all things, a master must be carefull that his

his servants be not eye-witnesses of any base or absurd action.

CXCII.

Pleasures moderately used are pleasant; but immodestly and too frequently, prove scurrilous and nauseous. So while, we too greedily pursue them, we over-run and lose them.

CXCIII.

What is the advantage of men greatly learned? they labour to be unsatisfied, to know how ignorant they are; and increase of knowledge is but increase of appetite to have more.

CXCIV.

Rely not upon men whose predominant humour is covetousness. For they love nothing so well as wealth, nor fear nothing so much as poverty. Therefore if their gain and your good be opposed, and they have power to make choice of either, imagine the sequel, though against their promise to you, and your former obligations upon them. Either choose a man that loves you above all things, or which is better, Honesty.

CXCV.

The same shoe fits not all mens feet, nor the same reason weighs with every man.

CXCVI.

He is far from a wise man, that the many examples of this age have not rounred

roured to a safe and wary carriage in his speech.

CXCVII. Often to consider that Christ by his passion hath not only gained remission of our sins, and absolved our great debt to God and his Law, but hath purchased all our right to our worldly blessings and to heaven itself; will make our hearts tender and pliable, not only to forgive our brethren, but to behave our selves with all Christian bounty toward them.

CXCVIII. Him that is a *Band* to ones *Just* we account base, and why not as well him that *Flatters*? For this incites the mind to ill, that but the body: and therefore this the worse.

CXCIX. The froward peevish disposition is like the wind: no man knows whence the cause of it is, nor whither it goes, nor how long it will last: but while it is all are troubled with the fearful noise and rumbling it makes.

CC. Though in a necessary denial, yet I would express a grief to be unable, rather than an unwillingness to satisfy, except it be to those that are importune and impudent; and their resolute answers should rid me of further trouble.

CCI. Those that are wise neglect not to weigh old and common precepts, and to govern

power themselves by them; whilst Novelties reject them as tried-bare, and looking for fresher accept of worse.

CCII. To judge a man without anger, because we never see him moved, is to say the flint is without fire, which indeed struck against wood or many other things, discovers not its property; but against steel shews its nature. And no man is impervious against all occasions, though against many, and it may be, most.

CCIII. The Indians have not made the Spaniard rich, neither is any man made wealthy by abundant comings in but by the few occasions of spending.

CCIV. In Physick the relapse into a former disease is cured by the same medicines that were first used; yet because the relapse is more dangerous and difficult, there is added to the former medicines more operative virtue and oftener application. Contrition and Confession are the medicines of a sick sinfull soul; and for a relapse into a former sin, we must use these medicines, both with more frequency and frequency.

CCV. Observe whether those that are cleanly and neat, yet without curiosity; and commonly they are thriving: for with it there goes a disposition of industry.

Whereas those that are slovenly, are commonly lazy, and that is the road to poverty.

CCVI. Unkindness among friends is like a brack in a garment; unless timely stopped, ravelles from top to bottom.

CCVII. As the Soul is the form and excellency of every creature; so is modesty the very life and being of a beautiful woman's commendation.

CCVIII. A wise parent more patiently suffers the dearb of his children than their wicked or debanch'd actions.

CCIX. Those, whose dispositions are retired, are commonly miser than those that are jovial. The reason is excess of joy dilates the spirits: whereas the other disposition unites them, and adapts for consideration; which is the parent of wisdom.

CCX. There is an odious spirit in many men, who are better pleased to detect a fault, than commend a vertue.

CCXI. Those trees that grow wild in our fields we neglect, but for those that grow in our garden we observe the due times of pruning and cutting. If we be planted in Gods Garden, we shall be cut and pruned by afflictions: For God chara-
cthereth every Son whom he loveth.

CCXII. These four are the chief ways of perpetuating our memory: Books, which require a good Head; Valiant acts, which require a courageous Heart; Children, which require an ability of Body; and Building, which requires a replenished Purse.

CCXIII. Such a man is to be imitated and admired, that had rather suffer injury, than do it: &c that not out of a sluggishness and dulness of nature, but out of good morality and strong oppositions against affections.

CCXIV. How agreeable are those controversies which we wished, and are conferred upon us before we could ask!

CCXV. There are a sort of men that find fault with other men for those very faults, wherein themselves are most faulty. Surely hoping to divert other mens observations from their lives. These men think to hide themselves behind a shield.

CCXVI. It is as bootless to endeavour to win some men by gentle usage as to hope to tame a wolf by stroaking.

CCXVII. It is a help to tranquillity lightly to esteem ill reports, that are falsely cast upon us, and those that are deservedly, to make them admonitions to us for our reformation; and not to be incensed to a wilful prosecution, for that will multiply our vexation.

CCXVIII. O Lord, how greak is thy
mine unto mankind, that thou oftentimes
withdrawest thy blessing from thy creatures,
and so makest them ineffectuall: and again:
thou infirtest weak helps to effect
great matters. This thou doest, knowing
our wicked natures, would ador thy selfe,
not abee, if the ordinary best means
should be infallible. And if thou shouldest
ever go along with the meane, how lazy
should we be, and so become to thy bosome
drawes in thy sight.

CCXIX. It is a most wretched thing either
to understand or consist of any weighty
troues; when our minds have newly been
stirred with any violence of passion; let
it be either of anger, grief, or fear: For a
man may as well consult fighting, as them.
NOCENT. None more impatiently suffer
injuries than thos that are most forward in
doing them. O Ablood as all.

CCXX. I have seen men discommend
those things, which have been spoken by
one, whom they have not much affected,
and commend the selfsame things deliver-
ed from anothers mouth, whom they
wote. These, methinks, resemble those
that prisa the same thing, but as a knave;
and dispraise it out of a bawdry. In this is

CCXXII. In War, when every man

seeks to save one, all is lost. In a Common
wealth, when every one greedily applies
himself to his own profit, the publick suffers.
So in a Family, when every one endeavours
mastership, all are disordered.

CCXXIII. In a State nothing is more
requisite than to preserve to every office,
yea to the meanest, a good repute. For the
first step to disorder is the contempt of Ma-
gistracy: and that as well of the lowest
degrees, as the more exalted.

CCXXIV. I would endeavour to stran-
gle all ill conceits of a parent, even at
their first beginning, though there were
too much occasion for them. But to ag-
gravate any upon never so just grounds, is
a degree of Parricide.

CCXXV. That Religion, which princi-
pally intends internal integrity, and is ex-
ercised with external decency, is far more
holy than that, which by external glory
and pomp, incites more ocular admiration
than inward sanctity.

CCXXVI. If I could I would labour
and if not able to labour, the law of
nature would allow me to beg: but ra-
ther than steal I would dye.

CCXXVII. A man may be a good
practical Moralist, and no Christian, but
a man cannot be a good Christian, and an
ill Moralist.

CCXXVIII. Those women, that desire to marry such doults as they hope to govern and rule as they list, are like those that spend all their life time in leading of the blind.

CCXXIX. A fault opportunely rebuked is like a cure timely taken: then both alike easily cured; but when time hath given strength and growth, they both pass from dangerous to deadly.

CCXXX. The life of a little sick Infant is as hazardous and hopeless, as the safety of a small Bark in the Sea, unbalanced, and without a steers-man. Every wave, though not rough, tosseth and endangereth the safety of it. So these little ones wanting strength, as the ballast, and reason as the steers-man, by which they might either help themselves, or direct others for their help, small infirmity dissolves them. But God manifests himself most where there are least natural means, and by his goodness they are preserved.

CCXXXI. Wisely used, it may be a discreet course, when our friends are afflicted with the calamity of some great loss, to amuse them with the danger of a greater dependent misfortune, if their wisdom and patience do not well provide for it: so whilst their minds are busied with

with the consideration of a greater matter, the other will be swallowed up, and the happy safety of what was most feared, will annihilate the sorrow of the other.

CCXXXII. Many times when we are in heavy affliction, and are desperate of all outward means, our *Faith* is more strong then afterwards, when God hath mercifully delivered. Yea, how far doth the Devil prevail to make us (when escaped) even worship the virtue of those means, which in our calamity were but either cold, or no comforters.

CCXXXIII. It is the wisdom of a man to be always armed against casualties, and the advantage of a Christian man to be best armed. Our little moment of time is obvious to many dangers and afflictions, & these such, as one stroak of them is able to kill us: as the loss of wife the greatest, of children the next, of estate and fame, and many the like. In how many, if not in all places do we lye open! But *Faith* in Gods providence that he orders all for the best, is a compleat armour of defence: therefore let us never be unharnessed.

CCXXXIV. How disconsolate a thing is it to journey alone, and to be enlightened in fearful darkness, and in passage! And how are we re-

meet with well-known acquaintance
will best company us. Such like, but far
humblest is the comfort of cordial frie-
ndship in affliction.

CGXXXV. Those disputations are frui-
tless and contentious, where the Auth-
ority of learned men are objected, and
Reason.

CGXXXVI. That State is happiest
(prospers best,) where the people rather
obey the authority of the ancient
fundamental Laws, than dispute the
dom and policy of the first Insitutors.

CGXXXVII. Those, who govern
themselves by the examples of others,
not by the rule of reason & judgment,
like those, who to the appearance have
clear eyes, yet are blind, and cannot wa-
lk but as they are led.

CGXXXVIII. Friendship is the chief
comfort of life, but to multiply friendship
and for one man to joyn himself in many
is levity and danger. For no man that
wishes, will give many keys of that Cabin
where his chieftest wealth lies.

CGXXXIX. The first step of that
ladder, by which a Christian man ascends
Heaven, is humility: and he who mea-
sures that, and so ascend by the re-
maining steps, and tumbles back w-
out option. □

Divine and Moral.

CCXL. Those are far from ~~ing~~
~~ous dispositions~~, who for their own
will comply with ignominious and base
sons.

CCXLI. To servants I would give
lawful liberty; as upon just occasion
be absent from my service. But I w^t
not suffer them to take it: for if I
find a remiss hand upon them in one th^t
it will engender insolence in all.

CCXLII. 'Tis not the plenty of
that nourisheth, but a good digestion.
ther is it abundance of wealth that m^t
us happy, but the discreet using it.

CCXLIII. The interchanging cour-
of Friends is somewhat like the Ph-
phers tenet, that though things may
from their present being, yet nothing
lost, for it is resolved into the first ma-
and so again will be produced into
forms: so what is transferred from
friend to another is not annihilated
lost, but is deposited there, and in ap-
tion will resuscitate to as behoveful

CCXLIV. Discreet patience giv-
great advantage. For when our hast
us discover our selves, we m^tain our
to arm themselves before we me-
strike: when on the contrary, we
wish ease have hit in what part we

CCXLV. The very book of the Creatures doth manifestly teach us that there is a God. If we come into a family, and see a decent order, we easily resolve our selves that there is a wise master that governs. Behold the whole world, (which we may call Gods Family) and observe the variety of creatures; nay, further, their variety of natures, preservations and uses. Could all these frame themselves or others? could they direct themselves to their proper uses and ends, that we see God hath disposed them to? Sure, let but humane reaſon discourse it, and it will be evident that there must be a God. How then is it that infidelity is so general? Certainly it is the curse of Adam's disobedience, that he who had so great a meaſure of knowledge, and ſinned againſt it, ſhould be puniſhed both in himſelf and posterity with Atheiſme and ignorance. And as infidelity is the greatest ſin, ſo for God to give a man over to it, is the greatest punishment.

CCXLVI. It is more honour for a woman to deny the undue deſires of a wan‐
ton lover, than to have thouſands charmed
with her beauty, or other her natural
graces.

CCXLVII. A man hath two ears, and but

but one tongue, they say it is, because he should hear twice before he speak once. A man hath likewise two eyes given him to look on both sides, before he go forward in any enterprize.

CCXLVIII. There are many that have sold away their own proper names, which they have received from a long succession of Ancestors, and bought others with the additaments of greater fortunes. In my apprehension a parricide of the largest extent, not of one parent (which all esteem horrible) but of a whole line. And more unpardonable it is in the eldest, or Heir of the House, than in any of the rest; because both the name and wealth of the family is intrusted to *Him*: and what God hath done to divers families for a punishment of sin, (that is, to blot out a name) he willingly and covetously pulls upon himself. Besides he calls himself by an improper name, which given by another, he would esteem to be an ignominious nick-name.

CCXLIX. It is seldom that any man doth hurt himself by patience or silence; but by hasty revenge many have undone themselves. What if there be just occasion to be angry? yet ever it is best to stay till the heat of our passion be over, because we

we may err in the measure: and there is no time lost; we may, if there be just occasion, be angry afterward.

CCL. A good name is as a perious oyntment; and he, that lives without it, sinks above ground.

CCL.I. In a man of Affairs these things are required. Honesty, not to wish or desire any thing but what is just. Sound judgment, to discern what is profitable, what inconvenient. Dexterity, to use opportunities that result in all affairs. A friend (to advise with) that's secret, who may confirm him in a well-chosen course, and inform him if he mistake. Constancy, to proceed in what he hath undertaken upon good grounds. Lastly, patience, to endure all the mishaps that could not be foreseen, nor humane wisdom prevent.

CCL.II. Both the wicked and the godly fear Gods judgments, and by them are deterred from evil actions. But the latter (as much, if not more) live sanctifiedly out of consideration and sense of Gods manifold and Fatherly mercies towards them: the other never respect them at all.

CCL.III. In true morality it is better to love than to be beloved. The one is of more fame, this of more substance: that's the concurrent act of others, this my own propensity.

CCLIV. It is wisdom in a man so far to inquire of other mens businesses, as may instruct and enable him for his own : yet by no means to intermeddle or interest himself, no not by others intreaty, but upon very good occasion ; as for publick benefit, or private charity, or nearness of alliance, or dearness of affinity, and in all these with good caution too.

CCLV. As in dispute the falling into one absurdity produceth many more : so in businesses one miscarriage links it self presently with many inconveniences.

CCLVI. There is no fire so small, but would burn up all the combustible matter of the world : nor no mans desire so feeble, but if he continually seek to please it, would at last ingross all that could be had, and never extinguish, till nothing more could be found.

CCLVII. Men who chiefly intend applause in their actions, commonly miss it ; but those seldom do that principally intend their action. For he that will win the game, must look more upon the mark than the money. If he hits the one, he takes the other.

CCLVIII. A man of a froward disposition is like a hedge-hog, set so round with prickles, one knows not where to strike him.

The

CCLIX. The first beginning of a good Christian is to desire to have good desires to be implanted in him : and this little grain through Gods blessing will grow to be a great tree.

CCLX. He is a man of feeble mind, that shall torment himself for the perverse forwardness of others.

CCLXI. There is not any thing doth more mischief in marriage, than when the one maketh much of any who hath injured the other.

CCLXII. Much is the knowledge that is gotten by discreet arguing and opposing of reasons : but when it grows to contradiction, there is not a greater ill.

CCLXIII. The aquinity of the mind, (in which consists the happiness of man) being once lost, is with much difficulty redeemed. As sleep being broken by disorder, is with much adoe recovered ; so our quiet being distempered by passion, is hardly resettled.

CCLXIV. That man that often weighs his own actions towards others, and with what affections he did them, will enable himself the better to conceive of other mens intentions towards himself in their affairs ; whereas those men that expect that all others should court their interests, never

never consider how they behave themselves to others.

CCLXV. *The lazy mans life is the most tedious, and most perplexed of all mens. For industrious men have both the comfort of effecting their purposes, and by their providence have prevented those calamities (either in part, or altogether) which humane condition is liable to ; and which fall impetuously upon the sluggard.*

CCLXVI. *It is the part of a discreet man not to enter upon an affair of consequence hastily or inconsiderately, and of a religious man, not to do any holy action without preparation. For the meditations of the heart should precede the words of the mouth. Therefore no way commendable is the course of those, who in prayer and preaching follow (as they call it) the present dictate of the Spirit , but rather indeed of their own fancy ; and is to be accounted vain presumption, and not spirituall excellency, as they would have it.*

CCLXVII. *There are many who are much disturbed at other mens buffoneries : a great defect of judgment, to envy that which we should rather scorn or pity.*

CCLXVIII. *Unhappy they are, who never know their friends but when they are gone ; First, in losing the comfort of them*

them, when they may have it; next, in desiring and wanting them, when they are past hope of having them.

CCLXIX. It is as absurd and weak to endeavour ones self to a sweet converse with those that are forward, and to be silent with those that are gentle; as to give a great impudent beggar, and dainty bounty to a modest man that wants.

CCLXX. The sluggard if he could truly apprehend the sweet content that endeavour brings, would loath his nest, who to avoid labour lingers out a tedious life.

CCLXXI. It is not the garment that is graceful, but the inward proportion that sets it forth; nor is it abundance that is our blessing, but a mind fitly disposed to our condition.

CCLXXII. If I go the right way myself, it were absurd to deviate upon any occasion. And sure, he that composeth his life to a regular honest course needs not care for the exception of any. For those that are likewise honest I shall meet; and those that are not, I desire not to find.

CCLXXIII. Religious love is like Solomon's sword: it trieth whether our love be like the naturall mothers, that would

not

obey have a religion made, nor the fesse
in heart, that would have the child disengaged.
The pious heart wholly devote in self to
God; but the carnal and hypocritical parts
is with God, and its own pleasures and
marriageryed This scrupulyn Religion
makes. *... vñ yd alsw or si vñb vñM*
CCLXXIV. That which in inconve-
nient times may be convenient, in conve-
nient times is often inconvenient.

CCLXXV. If it be with obedience to
the chief Magistrate, a man ought to carry
an honest and straight heart to the com-
mon right, and his private inheritance. And
it is to be granted, where there is no
offence committed against the Law, there
no guilt or desert of punishment.

CCLXXVI. The misdom of those
young men is excellent, who by providence
and discourse of reason do so order their
affairs, that they stay not till necessity or
experience force them to use that Jordan,
which wise foresight would much sooner
have taken: as to gaining gold and silver
CCLXXVII. They are much deceived
who conceive that by their own abilities
they are able to act in every affair. But
the truth is, that he is the wise man,
that knows to make able men his instru-
ments.

These two Meditations following, with the Verses, were written by him not long before his Suffering.

God's secret Will is unknown. Whatsoever it be, his name be magnified. My duty is to walk by the revealed and acknowledged rules of his Truth, and the received precepts of vertue. Which though through my frailty I have not practised so well as I should, and as I wish I had; yet never shall the fear of death (by his divine and gracious assistance) no not in the ugliest shapes attired, daun me from asserting them.

I know my cause is good, and that my sufferings answere not the value and worthiness of it. I know that my Redeemer liveth that died for me. Most willingly I die for his Truth, and for acting my duty to his servant, the King; whom he had placed here upon his terrestriall thron amongst us. I know and believe that to dye is gain, the gaining of an immortal and incorruptible life, with eternal felicity in the sight of God my Saviour, and his blessed Angels.

My Saviour his Cross sanctified,

My King the Block hath dignified,

Crosses nor Blocks I do not fear,

Sanctifi'd, Dignifi'd they are.

Gloria Deo in excelsis.

C E R T A I N
L E T T E R S
Written to severall
P E R S O N S.

B Y
THE
Arthur Lord Capel,

Baron of Haddington.



L O N D O N

Printed for Nath. Crouch at the Bell
in the Poultry near Cheapside. 1693.

C E R T A I N



S R I S O R E P E R

The sad and desperate condition His
Majesties Sacred person is in, hath fil-
led me with much greater ~~anxiety & dis-~~
~~quietness,~~ than hath been usual to me since
these ~~unhappy times:~~ And it is not often
that I think of any thing else, but what
~~may or ought to be done in order to the~~
~~preservation of it, as a Christian, as a Sub-~~
~~ject: For I believe both duties are insepa-
rably conjoyned in this occasion. The inqui-
sition after this led me into the consider-
ation of Gods ~~affection~~ of times & sea-
sons: & that as those are not to be neglect-
ed, wherein there is ~~freedom~~ for our active
duty; so neither ~~these~~, wherein there is
appearance of little else remaining, save
only for others to be encouraged and re-
vived by the ~~passive~~. And truly I doubt
not but the divine goodness will act for
our good ends, by our Christian readiness
for suffering. And as it is thus with times,
so~~

so also it is with persons; some are rather, or more decently qualified for this than that, at least to give example and authority to it.

These cogitations drew from me the considerations herein inclosed; which I have addressed to—because I assure my self much of your gentleness. I have already communicated them to a very learned, reverend and pious---- but I will not adventure much further in it, until I have also your sense of the expediency of the thing. For neither to the reputation of the matter, until it be maturely considered of, nor to any person would I because of inconvenience. And indeed, if it be so well encouraged by your self, and such others of like reputation, as it is by *Him*, it will become me afterward to be silent (as I conceive) for I have a better Heart than a Head for this business. I profess I have a jealous eye upon the Scots and Presbyterians; who I doubt not, would make malicious advantages upon any colourable defect of our Clergy. I shall add this, that those of my profession are not idle, but are confident and vigilant. And truly, it were a vile shame for us of all qualifications, if this excellent Prince should be

- lost

lost, and we not able to excuse our selves, that no means was left unattempted for his preservation; Whom I beseech God to comfort and defend. To whose protection I also leave you, &c.

Feb. 11. 1647.

P O S T - S C R I P T.

I Think it gives weight and encouragement to this proceeding, both His Majesties late excellent *Declaration* to his Subjects; as also the *Resolution* of the Houses to exhibit theirs to the people, heartily wish this were timely fitted for this *conjunctione*.

The Considerations inclosed.

The straight durance his Majesties sacred person is held under, the late *Declaration* of the Army, (with which the Commons have concurred) to act without and against the King, puts it past all scruple, that the flagitious and execrable resolution of these men hath engaged them past retiring; and (which is yet worse) that they cannot but proceed to the deepest and utmost Villanies and Impieties.

There

There is not less question of this, than of what ought to succeed it; which is, that their *impudence* must be encountred with a *Christian Courage, Zeal, and Resolution* Superior to it; otherwise 'tis a doubt not to be slighted, that these Men, and too many others seduced by them, will have a seeming Cause to believe themselves, that *Theological Truths* are more controversial, than those *Astronomical or Astrological*, wherein *Lines and Images* are only fictioned, to make *Schemes* for Sciences and Discourse. I am not altogether free of this Scruple, though it looks so *stupendiously Irreligious*.

Will not the whole Frame of *Christian Verity* be shaken (if not subverted) in this Nation, when this so great a *Truth* in it shall not be vigorously averred; That an *Established Magistracy* is God's immediate Minister; and ought not, cannot, with *Christian Profession*, be deposed by those that owe *Obedience and Allegiance* to it? I am fully perswaded, that it is so *necessary a Truth*, that were it tyed to the Stake, and the *Flames* about it, even there ought we to offer our selves to vindicate it, and contend for it; or else adieu *Christian-Protestant Profession*.

The Seed of the Church was Suffering:

E

And

And shall it be lost for want of Suffering, after it is grown to such a Perfection? The *Antient Patterns* must be imitated, if we expect the same Benediction should preserve to us, what was so piously and gloriously planted by them. I think, I mistake not my Measure; this Errour amongst Men lies not in the *Brain*, but in the *Heart*: Therefore *Instructions* want not, but strenuous *Examples* of Christian *Zeal*; which (I perswade my self) will most daunt them. For those believe, what they want of us in *Truth*, they supply in *Pertinacity*.

All this considered, it is not now seasonable (I believe it was not so till now; but because the Reasons are so obvious, I will not trouble you with them) for a considerable number of our *learnedest, graveſt, and most pious Divines*, (though they exceed not the number of twenty, they will be enough) in a *grave and ſoder manner* (for those *tart Reprehensions*, of which every day there wants not store, fit not the weight of this Buſness, being rather Movings of *Spleen* than *Sanctity*) to present unto the *Houſes*, That a *Government eſtablished*, is God's immediate *Minister*; and, That an Attempt to depoſe it, is an high *Impiety* againſt God, and

and his known *Truth* plainly and expressly taught us in the Holy Scriptures; That His Majesty is indubitably God's Vice-gerent over us, and that this Allegiance we owe unto Him, we have attested by the Oaths of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance*; That not any of his Subjects can stretch forth their Hands ~~against~~ *Him*, and be *Guileless*; That they demand (according to the Practice of the *Holiest Christians*, in all Ages) a Time and Place to prove this great *Truth* they now assert, by Evidence out of the Scripture; and if this be not allowed them, then to declare, they refuse not to seal it by *Martyrdom*.

I do very readily acknowledge, that the Qualifications for so great an *Engagement* ought to be weighty and serious; and that to rush into *Martyrdom*, (as long as God hath left us any justifiable human Means) may want as much of true *Christian Piety*, as it may seem of *Prudence*. God hath engaged our Nature to many and several *Duties* and *Functions*; and each hath its several *Laws* and *Rules* proper, whereby they are so set on work, that each may attain their due and proper *Ends*. Nor is the greatest Means always best, when there are others, though

less, yet fitter. But if I mistake not,
Ventum est usque ad Triarios, We must
bring up the Reserve. God hath in his just
Judgments, (upon our Estates and Per-
sons) permitted all our Temporal Endeav-
ours to be dissipated and frustrated;
we may say, Our *Van* and our *Battle* are
routed: But if the Courage of this our
Reserve fails us not, I hope we shall rally
our selves again about it; and, by the
Divine Goodness, have a fair day of it.
This will awaken all, encourage the half-
spirited, corroborate all honest and sincere
Minds. Methinks, I have Reason too
on my side, when I believe it will easily
fall into this Consequence. All the
Clergy of England (with very little Ex-
ception) will second so Christian an Ex-
ample. Besides, most *entire Families* will
be engaged; and scarce will there be
One, but will have a share in it. For to
this Point the *Presbyterians* will frankly
concur; divers reputed *Independents* (of
whom I know some much valued by them-
selves) will be joyned unto you; and e-
ven in the *Army*, the Impression of it
will be notable. Nor can their present
Power prevent the Expression of so uni-
versal a Sense, so piously invited, and so well
warranted.

Where-

Whereby will appear their *Paucity*. Upon good Advertisement I am assured, that they believe they have the *Hearts* of the greater number of the People; so much hath their Prosperity *dazzled* them: But of nothing am I more *certain*, than that they have not the *Fortiorib Man*. And an *Expedient* like to this, to let both the *People* and *Them* into a *View* one of another, I know not. And yet also would this be further prosecuted: This *Attestation* would be sent into *Scotland*, and all the *Protestant Churches*, and *States* of *Europe*, (for with the *Others* we communicate not.) And for it I know an *Expedient* proper, and of *Reputation*.

If this Progress of it should fail, though improbably, which hath such a politick *Seemingness* in it; yet in my Opinion, it doth not at all vitiate the *Pious Part* of it: The *means* and *end* being throughout truly *Christian*, I say, if it should fail, yet I see not that any thing we can *do* or *suffer*, can more than answer the *Importunity* of the *Occasion*, and the *Necessity* that lieth upon us as *Christians*, to do the utmost of our *Duty*. How long, and with how many Arts and Subtilties have these Men *abused* and *deluded* the People with the *Pretensions* of their *candid Intentions*,

rentions, only to preserve the Laws of the Nation, and the Protestant Profession? But now that they are possessed of so great Power, with what Impudence do they confound these, and with what Impiety do they subvert this? But since in this case both those do so well accord, were it not best to set this last named in the Front, and to draw up the Civil Affairs to it: 2d though we contend for both; yet to fight under the Banner of this, in some such manner as I have stated it, and by your Wisdom will be disposed into the best Order.

I shall add such a Consideration more, that if it stood singly, yet in my Opinion would justifie and quit the Cost of any Endeavour or Indurance: That is, The unparalleled Sufferings of this Great Prince: to which I know nothing superior, but his Incomparable Virtues. Believe me, Multitudes of Men are mistaken, if in the Point of his Temporal Affairs, he had not been in a much better condition, (though I profess not in a good one) had he timely relaxed much of his constancy and sincerity towards the Rights, Preheminencies and Patrimony of the Church. Neither is our Obligation but very great to him; his Sufferings being for

for our *Laws*; so unquestionable is our *Prosperity* mixed with *this Dignity*. Now, shall this *Great Personage* suffer *Imprisonment*, *Deprivation of Majesty*, *Absence* of all *Worldly Comforts*, and minutely *Hazards of Life*, for his *Magnanimous* *Stedfastness* to your and our *Advantages*; and we not struggle for *Him* with our *utmost Endeavours*? *Life* were inseparable from much *Infamy*; with such *Ingratitude*. And truly, in *Human Reason*, (the *utmost Implegment* whereof, *God* (I doubt not) expects at our *Hands*) I know no *Guard* for his *Life*, but by some means or other to make it manifest, how dear he is to his *People*, and their readiness to testify how inseparably *united* *God's Truth* is with the *Cause of His Majesty*. This only next under *God*, must awe *Them*, preserve *Him*.

I cannot refuse to believe, that this *Cause*, as to the *Crown*, will *rise again*; because I see not a *Bottom* or *Foundation*, in *Human Reason*, for this *surreptitious Power* to establish it self in the *Order* it seems now to point at. Though I do also very fully confess, that *great mischiefs* are easily under their *Power*. But if these only were prevented, amongst

which the safety of this sacred Person is of highest Importance, we had no cause to repent of such Pious Endeavours. And should the Cause of the Crown (with which God's Truth is so firmly combin'd) resuscitate without such Christian Aides, little were it to the Honour of the present Clergy, and those that now serve at the Altar: And if Redempton come singly some other way, their share could be little looked after (of which, truly none is more passionately tender, than my self) nor were the Protestant Profession well vindicated; which (I doubt not to say) hath received a deep wound (but I hope not mortal) by the Unchristian Proceedings of these vile and detestable Men amongst us.

This I have offered to your Candour, Prudence, and Piety, which truly I hold in great Reverence; otherwise I would not thus have exposed my self to the censure of it. The Weakness of the Advice, at least the unskilful Digest of it, I shall readily acknowledge; but the Sincerity and Zeal of my Heart for the Cause to which it is directed, I shall never be ashamed of.

But

But after all this, I shall make this Conclusion, and I pray believe I am *serious* and *sincere* in it : Let me not be mistaken, that I should seem to reprove a *Slackness* in *those*, whom I think proper to take up in this matter *of themselves*. Indeed, I am not at all guilty of it. I doubt not, but great numbers have been *long since ready* for this Encounter ; and perhaps, disposing themselves to it, in a much *better manner* than I have proposed. I have only offered my *Opinion*. Receive it, I pray, *as it is*; I may affirm, in the *weakest part* of it, not wanting some measure: of a *pious Jealousie*, (as a *Son of this Church*) for this great *Verity* taught and professed in it, and as a *Transport* of that *duty* and *care* I have for the *safety* of this *Gracious Prince*, my *Master*. To which I shall add; That I have had too much *Experience* in this World, to be ignorant of this frequent *Truth* in Affairs ; That in *Good Men* there is always a *modesty* accompanying them, that oftentimes they *begin over-late*: And it is almost proper to them neither to *machinate*, nor to be over-hasty to *encounter wicked Designs*.

But, if I erred not, this is that Point, and Article of *Time*, wherein your Order are to manifest their full Persuasion of this *Verity in Christian Religion*; *Vindicate* it as it is profest by the *Church of England*; *Answer* the *Kindness* and *Sredfastness* of the *King* to the *Clergy*; *Protect* that *Life*, which was our *Protection*, and is in such *imminent Hazard* for it: By all which (through God's Blessing) you may lay a Foundation of *reviving* both in *Church* and *State*, that which now looks so *Cadaverously*.

MT

MY LORD,

I joyes me not a little, that *in the late refusal of the Lords concurrence with the Commons House concerning the Trial of his Majesty, you were there, and had an eminent share in it.* The *blood of our Families* being *mixed*, it is a grief to me, I could not bear a part with you in so *virtuous and commendable an Action*, yet a large part of *contentment* in it cannot be denied me.

You are (*unquestionably*) on *firm ground*. If you stir an inch from it, you fall. If you keep your *station confidently, magnanimously*, you are *safe, undoubted- ly safest*; if *coldly and with trepidation*, you are *ruin'd, lost*. Are the *dangers great?* the *occasion is much greater*: and the whole affair is therefore great, because greatness by *hazards of the highest nature to the publick, to your particular*. I have *bought experience at a dear rate*: but into the *bargain I have no very imperfect knowledge of these men*. Let them but meet a well-grounded and justifiable *zeal* greater than their *mis-guided fury*, you

you shall render them *recollected*: and you have begun a *conquest* upon them, when they perceive an engaged *resolution*. Let them but see there is a *generosity* and incredible *courage* prepared to stemme the *torrent* of their *fury*, they *must*, they *will yield way* to it.

The case of the whole Kingdom hath long been a *sad* and a *heavy* one; but now at length it is a *plain* one too. Tho' your *Lordships* seem at present to appear most upon the stage; the *Eclipse* of the *King* hath very sensibly obscured the *lustre* and brightness of the *Gentry* also: And therefore it may be the easilier believed, that, although the *King* at present hath very little *attendance*, and *solemnity* about his *Person*, his *Interment* must be accompanied with the considerablest part of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*, and with the demolition of *Kingship*; and the mutation of *Monarchy* in this Common-weal, together with that of *Nobility* and *Gentility*, will be attended with that of the civil and sober *distinction* of all degrees.

It is not uneasie to be discerned (as elated as these men are with their *Victories*) that yet there is a kind of *hesitation*, and *stop* in their carriere. For now

the

the time being come, that they are to consider how they shall retain and rule what they seem to have gained, they begin to perceive that there is a wide difference between *making a Conquest over their fellow Citizens*, (of which their own unhappy differences will lay claim to the greatest share) and *governing them contrary to their own appetites by so small a part of themselves*: And that means are easilier found, and readier at hand to *discompose and disorder a State*, than such as shall *compose and rule it*, especially when so differing to long-ingraffed *customes*, and the *inclinations* of the people. Attack them in this *musing mood*, though they do use an *artificial confidence* that they act the fence of the people. 'Tis true, they are in some *present awe* of their *power*, or rather in a kind of *present amazement* at their *boldness*: An expedient must be used for the people to resume *courage*, and to declare their *inclinations*. I need scarce name who are the fittest to contrive the *way*, and give the *onset*. It can be none but your *Lordships*, none will begin before you, and there is none but will follow you. Make then a *Declaration* (by a competent number of you that are readiest at hand (for some *hast* must be used

con-

considering the Kings danger) the rest will speedily follow you) of your horrour and detestation to such a proceeding against your anointed King, and lawful Sovereign, (your Lordships will best order it:) Invite all the Clergy, all the Professors of the Law to make their several subscriptions under their several qualifications. Those in London are ready at hand, and will speedily follow you. Then the Countreys and Cities will undoubtedly hasten their testimonies. This occasion is so large, it incloses, comprehends all opinions, whatsoever owns humanity, will be joyned to you. The paucity of these prodigious Regicides, Parricides will quickly appear as Monsters, not contained within the terms and limits of humane nature. Nor can the power and vigilancy of the Army hinder the progress of this: Or if they attempt it, they do half-work, it destroys their pretensions, and will irritate the people to a revenge. Send such a Declaration to the General and the Council of War. Let them see there is a noble Confidence and Resolution that will back it, and not be refused. Demand a stop of the proceedings, until the people have delivered their suffrages by their subscriptions. They will own you as

re:

regardful of them for preserving them from the imputation of so high a guilt of so unspeakable a crime, as these would impose upon them.

This proceeding (I acknowledge) is not ordinary, not exampled: but the occasion is altogether new, and so unimaginable, That (all the circumstances weighed) all histories are silent, that the like thing ever entered into the heart of man, as this intended enterprise of these men of the Army: That a King and a free Monarch, the Protector of our Municipal Laws, should, contrary to all Laws, to our own Laws, but yet with the impudent semblance of a packed Jury be submitted unto Tryal for his Life. To encounter this horrid novelty a way altogether new must be excogitated, and seconded with a courage and confidence above ordinary. Why may not your Lordships find it convenient to remonstrate to all Kings, Princes, States, Potentates and Nobility your disclaimure of so foul a matter; and desire their assistance, if it may be timely had, for the preservation of his sacred Majesties Life? For if that were but in a reasonable security, you need not doubt, but that the Kingdom hath more

more than means enough to struggle for it self, and recover its ancient *Laws* and *Government* from such a *vertiginous* and *giddy Generation*; who have the *impudence* to derive a *Title* and *Authority* for their proceedings from *Visions* and *Revelations*. Give but the people an honourable *example*, they will *follow* you, and vindicate both you and themselves from being considered as such a silly *Generation*, that they should suffer themselves to be *convinced* out of their *good*, *known*, and *established Laws*; and in the place of them, to be imposed upon by *Imaginations* and *Dreams*.

I despair not of Gods wonderful *Providence* oyer his *Sacred Majesties Person* and *Life*: but that suspends not our *Endeavours*. He expects we should work with Him by those *Humane* means he hath left us. It grieves me, I can do nothing else but rub my fingers upon paper: an imployment that fits not my *Genius*. Perforce I must do it, or *nothing*. And because I would not be guilty of leaving any thing undone that I can do, I have applyed my self to it, and directed it to your *Lordship*. To whom I wish that all the advantages, that ever hapned to any

noble

Noble Endeavour, may succeed, and rest
of gallants to return, but; will to
Tower, Jan. 9. 1648. of late I have
enveloped, or soospitiong Towns, &c.
not English, and, which debuts, to
and, and, and, and, and, and, and,

How down at insinuation, noting, and
SIR, how, boding, result, and
and, and, and, and, and, and, and,

THE conjectures of men are strangely
various (yea, of the same persons) concerning the safety or danger of the King, my Master: Sometimes their hopes, other times their fears prevail most. I should be much ashamed if I were the least guilty of so universal an *inquietude*, in so justifiable an occasion, and arising from so good a ground, as a *Kindness* and *Reverence* they owe to their *Lawful Prince*. I frankly give you leave to think (nor do I value the inconvenience it could draw along with it) that there is not that *honest* expedient in the world to serve *Him* by, that I would not *bazard* myself in, to employ for *Him*: nor do I know what *Earthly felicity* it is, could be so *welcome* to me, as to advance a step, beyond *any other* in my duty toward *Him*. But my present condition refuseth me the ability of *any thing* else, but

but that of invocating the favour of God for Him ; and making my addresses to you, whom I take to be the figure that gives the denomination to the sequence of a great many *Cyphers* that follow you : And therefore I do rather believe that a person, that signifies so much, will the better apprehend what weight and signification *Reason* and *Religion* have in all *Humane and Christian Actions* ; and that these at last will make a Conquest upon all those, that act without their Commission.

I can hardly persuade my self into (I think) the too common opinion, that the extraordinary success and felicity that hath constantly followed your attempts (who as the saying is, seem to have hired fortune to serve you at day-wages) hath dimmed that light of understanding that formerly was usual to you. You cannot forget the advantages on the House's part, and the *Infirmities* and wants on the Kings part, at the beginning of the War ; and that the complication of many favourable accidents on the part of your Affairs, will challenge a share in the success, yet is there a large room too left for your merit in *Martial Conduct* ; and you have cause enough to value your self upon a better foundation, than the event of Battels,

sets, and successes in War. Proverbial Wisdom is noe the worse, because easiest learnt; It seldom happens that the same man is Happy and Wise together. And if that lesson also be good, That Affliction makes men understand; it is the Academy in which I have been strictly disciplin'd for seven years; so that I must either be an ~~wrgeous~~ Dunc, or no fit Counsellor for you; there being a Person scarce to be found, that lyeth under so dangerous a temptation of seeming prosperity, and therefore fittest to be advised and counsell'd to Sobriety and Wisdom. Of this I do assure you I do so little repine at your Prosperity, and easie opportunities of fixing your self securely in it, that if you do as much justifie your love to the tranquillity of the Nation by a discreet uniting the King and his People, as you have been instrumental in their long separation. I shall prize your prudence, courage, industry, and sobriety, at as high an estimate, as the sufficientest wit can deliver it in Language.

I doubt not, but both of us are easily agreed in this point, That success legitimates not a quarrel, nor the power which supports it, Neither are the Instruments of the Calamity of a Nation thereby justified.

stified. We cannot but remember and observe, that it is no more than the *shortest* and *imperfectest* *Creatures* have heretofore effected, which have driven people out of their Countreys, made *desert Islands* extreamly fertile. Have not *Frogs* and *Locusts* desolated *Empires*? and other *Kermine* ruined great *Cities*, and large *Territories*? By these means God magnifies his own Power and Justice: the *Instruments* remain but what they were, their Nature and Quality not changed. But in the Acts of Gods Grace and Favour to those; who have been instrumental in destructive practices, there is a mutation of *Qualities*; an ejection of those vicious, and an infusion of contrary *Graces*, and those Affects and Appetites, which are necessary and connatural, but misguided, are by his goodness guided to good ends. And thus was *Saul* from a furious *Persecutor* transformed to a zealous *Professor*; from a *Destroyer* of the *Church*, to a *Master-builder* up of it. No doubt but God in both had his ends, by and upon *Saint Paul*: and from my Soul I wish it, that your case may have a similitude with his; that of him in the *Spiritual Affair*, (which was the Function to which he was separated) you may be a re-

resemblance in the *Temporal*; and from a *Destroyer* (by God's goodness) rendered a *Restorer*. This in passage to those other considerations I intended to you.

That which weighs most, and lyeth heaviest upon mens hearts, is, the fear of the King's Person; that the whole Kingdom may lye under the imputation of the guilt of *violence* offered to it; and that a *mutation* of the form of *Government* shall succeed it. If this be the *End* aimed at, then my present endeavour is to demonstrate to you, how humanely *impossible* it is to attain unto it. First there is no example (the necessary circumstances observed) that encourageth such an endeavour. For examine all the *Stories* of all *States*, and you will not find so much as one instance (I pray observe how I propose it) that ever any people within the fifth degree (I might double the proportion) as we of England are, or in the same degree so spacious a Territory, were ever transformed from a *Monarchy*, to an *Aristocracy*, or *Democracy*. Some Cities and partly *Principalities* have sometimes suffered a change to those Formes; and from thence have arrived (yet not without desperate intestine *Seditions* and *Vexations*) to a great *Puissance*: The people growing

up and increasing with the widening of the State, the Governing by multitudinous Councils, through constant habit and practice, hath not alwaies ill succeeded. But to attempt to introduce such a form (which is so *vicious* and brittle, and so easily carryed into *Distemper, Tumult* and *Magnitude*, being scarce separable) upon such a huge mass of people as we of this Nation are, and altogether *unexpect* and *undesirous* of it, the matter it self in reason will be found manifestly *repugnant* to, and not *susceptible* of such forms; nor is there a pattern to be found, to give any light of direction for the managing of such a design. Reasons may be seduced from the Accidents happening this Parliament, which well weighed and pondered, will afford matter more than enough to clear this question. Something like an example may be produc'd (though rarely too) that large Monarchies have been *cantonzed*: But that (I think) few have any jealousy that this is intended.

The next considerable is, That the change from the ancient and long-established rule of Governing will demolish all the received rules of Property. And if that inconvenience be with difficulty provided for; yet the people will not ex-

expect other, but that with new Lords they must have new Laws: And more than probable it is that the people will be shaken into such an apprehension of it, that they may fall upon the Heads of the Enterprisers. We frequently see that people are hardly reclaimed from customs barbarous and unreasonable; how much less can our best Nation (the best civilized the world hath known) be withdrawn from the love of Laws, so prudently constituted, and under which they have so long continued, that the very desires of the People are assimilated into the Nature of their Laws. The People and the Laws will always be alike. Are their Laws Monarchical, so will be the affections of the people? Custom is a second Nature, and in many things goes beyond it.

Upon what Principle, upon what Authority must such a proceeding be founded? It can be no other, but that the people have the right and power to depose an Established Government, erect a new Form, arraign the supreme Magistrate, and execute Him. Herein is History silent: and it will not only be disclaimed by all those you call Cavaliers and Presbyterians, but also by a considerable number of Independents: The remainder then will amount

amount to a slender body of people. So that whereas the pretence is, that the sense of the people is acted, nothing will prove to be a grosser mistake. But this embroilment in the State, especially upon this principle, will make all Kings Parties to the quarrel: Yea, all States that administer Aristocratically, will be thoroughly engaged to defend their right of ruling. So that there is little question, but that the greatest calamity that can befall a Nation, will inevitably be drawn upon us, that is, a Foreign Invasion. And Trade (which Nature seems to have designed our Nation most properly for) will be embarked by all Kings and those States. Nor can it be expected that permission will be given to those of our Nation to Trafick, who derive themselves from a State, from whence they shall bring the contagion of so destructive a maxim to those rules of Governing, where they expect Commerce. Yea, even popular States will abhor so prodigious a Principle and Proceeding: they having been urged by necessity to use a supreme Magistrate, though for time limited, yet exempt from Question and Tryal: whereof the ancient State of Rome gives us frequent Examples. No man sure is so mad

as to search our *Chronicles* for a president of this Nature.

The consideration of Scotland will have a large share in this Affair : for the *Regal Rule* can receive no diminution, much less alteration here, but that it must make a notable impression on that State; and can have no other event but a *disunion* of the *Nations*; the *union* of which hath ever been so much considered and vehemently desired by all our prudenter *Princes*, and by the most fortunate *Martyr-lifts* of them, (with so much fruitless loss of blood) often attempted, yet afterward by Gods providence so happily effected, and in a most peacable manner, to the universal contentment of all sorts in both Nations. 'Tis not possible there can be an *Union of Nations*, where there is a *disimilande* in the Nature and Form of Government ; for they will perpetually strive one with another. Nor can a violence upon the person of the *King* but prepare a way to let Scotland into a *Quarrel* undeniably just, and unavoidably necessary, for the loss of their *Liege Lord* and *Lawful Sovereign*, and unconsulted with. To this Consideration of Scotland, i'll joyn that of *Ireland*. 'Tis apparent that the Army will have more than their hands full

full (if Scotland) slept with the vexations and difficulties that will arise here at home. For of the Commons house (which you call) the representative of the people, an eighth part remains not, with any countenance for the Army; nor those neither doth the ~~are~~ of the Army retain united to one sense; Take also into the reckoning those, who have been expell'd the House for adhering to the King in this War, which at least will be four or five parts more: the remaining part of the Lords have disclaimed to have any share in such proceeding. So that by this Index of this Nation you may see the Spirit of the whole body of it, the Nobility, Gentry, all persons of distinction, and all of any competent subsistence: and I am periwaded, (besides the unsuccessfull Tryal that hath been made of some persons practised and learned in the Law;) even those of your late selected Jury or Judges for the Kings Tryal, will fail the Promoters of it. Indeed all things refuse them; and doubtless so will you too, when viewing and reflecting you shall cast your eye upon so horrible a spectacle, you cannot let it long rest there. We then thus arm'd and disquieted, Ireland will be left to it self; or rather worse.

worse, a prey to a Foreign Nation; a large Kingdom, the fittest soil of the Northern parts of Europe, happy beyond England for number and conveniency of Ports and Havens: so that inevitably with it the destruction of the Empire of this Nation over the Seas, and the cessation of Trade must ensue; and after it, unspeakable Misery and Poverty to our Nation, and Eternal infamy to the casers of it.

Very considerable also is the fashion and shape of the proceeding, which (they say) is intended against his Majesty; so ugly, monstros, and deformed, that when it appears upon the stage to act, the horror of it will irritate the whole Nation to revenge. What? (for it is not otherwise apprehended) that a Council of War of that Army, that profess to act under, and by the Authority of the two Houses, should impose Rules to judge by, and Judges for those rules too upon those whom they have professed to be their Legislators; and that for the Tryal (by their own acknowledgment) of the dignified Person of the Kingdom; therefore not more than any other submittable to an Arbitrary Power, and Extrajudicial Proceeding. Who is it that after this can

expect security of Life, or quiet possession of any thing he hath? It is said (but who almost can believe it?) that a Title is derived from *Revelation* and *Inspiration*: If it were but talk, it were but ridiculous, and would be thought so simple, that it would not be condemned as guilty of malice: but to act under such a notion, were a plain confession that all other *Titles* are insufficient. Nay, if it be but mingled with any other pretensions, the pestilent quality of it would poyson all the rest: and, believe it, the dropping of such expressions, by the unsobrest of those that call themselves of your Party, hath incredibly discredited those who are indeed well-advised. Away with it then, as that which will bring the *certainest* and *suddenest destruction*; as that which will enrage the whole Nation to a *furious vindication* of themselves, from being considered as such a *filly generation* of people, that should be couensed out of their good known, and established *Laws*; and in the place of them, suffer themselves to be imposed upon by *Imaginations* and *Dreams*, which every morning must be declared to the foregoing nights legislative power.

MS. Add. 30. 1. v. 1. fol. 11. v. 1. col. 1. line 1.

The

The people do already take themselves to be scornfull mocked, that they must be *stigmatiz'd* with the *defamation* of so *impious* an act, as a violence offered to the *Life* of their *Sacred* and *Anointed King*; and that the *Act* of so slight a part of their *Trustees* must redound to their shame; who shunning the light of *Established Rules*, which would have guided them, (the *paths* they expected they should have walked in) do in this so *palpably* wander from their *trust*, and the sense of those who trusted them; and that so inconsiderable a part of them should set up a *figment* of *fancy* to be *idolized*. Consider the *Commons House* (if yet it may be so called) allow (which cannot be refused) the *Knights* to be the *Representatives* of the *Shires*, which truly is the main of the *people*, you shall not find *Knights* for the tenth *County* in *England*, I am perswaded, not a far smaller proportion: Is it then possible that men shall believe against *sense* and *evident demonstration*, that the *people* incline to you; nay, that they are not *diametrically* opposite and bent against you? We read that *God*, as an expression of his *gracious favour* to his *Church*, hath promised, that *Kings* and *Queens* shall be *nursing Fathers*

chers and Members of his Church; But that his Church should set up new formes or aoy formes of Tryal, to execute their own Kings and Queens, is monstros and unknown to Religion, is less than an idle dream, 'tis the fiction of a dream, and so it will be esteemed not deducible out of the sacred Scriptures; defamatory to the Christian profession, and the nearest way to introduce Paganisme or Mahometanisme, their Prophet practising such delusions. So that hereby, as Christians, is all Europe engaged, as Protestants, all of our beliefs, either in this or other Nations.

The last consideration that impedes the mutation of the Government is the person of the King: which we find doth unavoidably mix it self with all the former considerations; so that the discourse of the one, will not be without the aid of the other. Yet this following hath somewhat more in it. 'Tis *This King*, such a King, so conspicuously virtuous and sufficient; therefore (it must be acknowledged) that hath a right apprehension and clear vision of the true Interest of Kingship, which is the *peace* and *prosperity* of his people; A Prince of undaunted resolution and clear courage, therefore not vindictive, and far above base Revengers.

gers. Example me in any one person, of any vindication, or disrespect, that the King can be charged with.

I'll give you many instances of his placability and readiness to be reconciled. (let me in a short parenthesis give you this advertisement; Revenge is to be doubted from the people, not from the King; He alone must be, can be your security; upon such a Prince you may rely:) A Prince of exemplary devotion and sobriety, therefore dear to all persons so qualified. 'Tis this King during whose happy dayes, (no less than 17 years) in which he quietly possessed and ruled the Scepter, such an inward tranquillity was joyn'd to such a security from without, and both accompanied with such an opulence, that no period of like time, with the like felicity, have the former ages delivered over to us. And it is no impudent question to ask; whether ever any other Nation ever enjoyed the like. I am perswaded (and that upon no ill grounds of conjecture,) were it in the power of the Nation to elect out of the Catalogue of all their Kings, the Spirit of which of them they would have rest upon this; if they wished Him the fortune of Henry the Fifth, yet they would not refuse his own vertues, for the

most signal of any of the former : So notable an impression doth the memory of the peaceable part of his Reign make upon the affections of his people : And such an horrour and aversion hath the disquiet thereof wrought in them to any other form of rule, that they look upon their tormentours as Salamanders, that only live and are cherished by the flames, that have scorched them. Is it not now high time then to stop and make a halt ? Is there not enough done to satiate the vanity, and quench the thirst after military renown, when you have vanquished your Compatriots and fellow Citizens, and under such a Prince : Look upon the brink of what a dreadful precipice you are ; and let this last , and those other considerations be seriously revolv'd by you : To which being added those weights , which your own judgment can cast into the scales, undoubtedly you will see that there is a wide distance between making a conquest over a people, (of which their own differences will lay claim to the greatest share, and governing them contrary to their own appetites by so small a part of themselves ; and that means are easier found and readier at hand to desolate and disorder States, than such as shall compose

pose and rule them, various to long ingrafted customs, and their own inclinations. *Invisa Imperia nunquam retinentur diu. Hated rule is never long-lived.* Methinks you cannot well avoid the observation that the most *perspicacious* and *sagacious persons* of your party, who with a wonderful *stedfastness* and *undismayedness* have kept company with you in your *councils* and *affairs*, and in the greatest hazards (for you have not alwaies been without such,) do herein, and in this action, and in this highest time of your *power* and *prosperity*, not only make a stop, but avowedly withdraw themselves, and declare *against* it; no doubt but very evidently foreseeing the *fatality* of such an *enormous* and *unparalleled attempt*. But the *imagination* that some have, that this design will be carried on by dispatching the King out of the way, excluding the *Prince* and *Duke* of *York*, (both now out of the Realm) and setting up the *Duke of Gloucester*, until the people are better *seasoned* by this new *fashion* of *Government*, is such a *mockery*, that it cannot be believed, but the most *pурblind understanding* will see all the shapes of the design, when it stands but behind so slender a thred. This will not do the feat, nor will the people of this

age be so deluded : wherein there are but too many (for the publick peace,) that understand *Arts* and *Policies* of State, or, at least, would have it so thought.

Upon the prospect of these foregoing considerations, (and there want not others important) draw a short state of the whole affair ; and it will be thus, or little otherwise. At the present, you of the Army stand high, but naked, unloved ; the bulk of the people that assists you, small ; they are, to speak of, all in one cluster, the Army ; and that not all ripe for such designs : through the Kingdom they are so thinly disseminated, that the appearance of them by the eye is scarcely discernable ; and lastly , to deal frankly with you, (because their temper in your affair, will make a notable impression,) for the greater number a vertiginous and giddy generation, that will never suffer quiet to themselves, you, nor others. The opposites to these, are the most prudent constituted form of Rules the World hath known ; a vast number of people wedded to it, the matter therefore irreconcileable, no example friendly to you, all Potentates made Parties against you ; the certain disunion of Scotland with England ; the damage and infamy for the loss of Ireland ;

land; the *Defamation* of Christian Religion, more especially of the Protestant Professors; and lastly, the Person of a most Excellent Prince, loved, reverenced, and desired by the Generality of his People. Besides all these, and others that are obvious to the commonest Understandings; trust me, no mortal Man can have a Prevision of the future vexations, which such a *Regicide*, such a *Parricide* will bring to the persons, affairs, and designs of the Army; if a Prognostick may be made by the Rules of Reason, by the constant course of Human Actions, by the *Conjunction* of the present Affairs of this Kingdom. It is the certain *Expectation* of all sober Men, that Jacob followed not Esau closer by the Heel, than the Armies Destruction will that of such an *Inhuman Act of Violence* upon the Sacred Person of the King. What then, in the Name of God, is it, that hinders you, answerable to Reason, suitable to Duty, and agreeable to Piety, from making haste to joyn your self to the Law, and to agnize that Prince, whom the Laws and Ordinance of God have set over you? Obey then the *Municipal Law*, under which you were born, that hath nourished and cherished you; restore it, promote it all you can; reverence

rence that Prince, into whose Custody God hath committed both the *Laws*, and *your self*; who, I doubt not, will find it most Convenient to employ *your self*, and the *sobrest* of your *Party*, in the eminentest Administrations under Him: And verily, I wish it. Nor do I think it in any degree reprehensible for you, or any other, to observe the *Physicians Rule*, *Accipe dum dolet*: Take this Opportunity of the present anguish of the King and Kingdom; restore it to its former Habit of *Quiet* and *Peace*. There is none that will grudge you such sober commodity, as may arrive to you by it. But with such manner of Discourses I will not detain you, lest I should thereby mis-lead you into a false Opinion of Me.

My *Principles*, according to the Temper of these Times, are very remote from *Self-safety*; or to employ *ungenerous Flatteries* for it. Know this assuredly, that I firmly believe, that an Established *Majistracy* is God's immediate *Minister*; nor can it be deposed by those that owe *Obedience* and *Subjection* to it, without the highest Guilt of *Impiety*: And that this is a Verity so plainly held forth to us by the *sacred Scriptures*, (as an Ordinance

employ-

imployed by God, for the Manifestation of his Power and Goodness, in the Conservation of Human *Communion* and *Society*) that the conscientious Sufferers for it, may expect a Crown of Martyrdom by it. That this Government is a *Monarchy*, and His Majesty the Right and Lawful King, hath not a colourable Objection to gain-say it. Read the Act of Recognition, 1 Jac. calmly done by the whole Parliament, and unanimously pursued by the whole Nation, at a Season and Opportunity that might have encouraged *Pretences*, if any could have been found. How happens it, that the *Lawfulness* of *Regal Rule* is questioned? Search the Scriptures. God it is, that owns their *Charter*: He it is, that gave it them. *Per me Reges regnant*, (Prov. 8. 15.) not *Per nos*. 'Tis no *Plurality* they hold by. Where Solomon speaks in the Person of the *Eternal Wisdom*; thereby to advertise us of (no doubt) greater *Reverence* and *Circumspection*. God himself appoints *Moses* the first *Prince* of the Politick State of the *Jews*; after him *Joshua*, &c. Is it the *Title* and Hereditary *Succession* of *Kings* you look for? See then, God himself chuseth *Saint*; afterwards guides the *Lot*; lastly, follows the *Publication* and

and Acknowledgment of the People. Afterward God rejects that Dynasty, and by especial Command fixeth *David*; whom, by like Appointment, *Solomon* succeeds: And from him continued that Family in the Rule, in the *Eldest Son* of that Family. Yet is the Person so sacred, so delicate, that no violent Hand must come near to approach it. Wherein are the Scriptures more plain and express, than in this Particular, *Touch not mine Anointed David*, before he was a King; and persecuted by a King, *Who can (saith he) stretch forth his hand against the Lord's Anointed, and be guiltless?* 1 Sam. 24. 3, 6. Multitude of Texts there are, that both justify the *Dignity*, and enjoyn *Reverence* to the *Person*. And conformably it hath been the avowed *Doctrine* and *Practise* of the *Church* in all *Ages*, even under *Heathen Princes*.

'Tis an Argument too copious, for a Paper to contain (the Reasons and Instances for it; rather indeed is it too manifest, to be disputed. Hath not God coupled them two due to Himself, with the Duty of Reverence toward the King? Prov. 24. 21, 22. *My Son, Fear thou the Lord, and the King, (in conjunction) neither nor with them that are given to Change.*

Mix

Mix not with such *Machinators*; for a like end shall be to the Offenders against both, *Destruction*.

Sir, My Conclusion shall be very plain, because you may thereby be the better assured of my *sincerity* in all the rest. The *antient Constitutions* and *present Laws* of this Kingdom, are my *Inheritance* and *Birth-right*: If any shall think to impose upon me that which is worse than *Death*, which is the *profane* and *dastardly* parting from these *Laws*, I will chuse the *less Evil*, which is *Death*. I have also a Right in *Kingship*, the Protector of those *Laws*: This is also, by a Necessity and Conjunction with that other, dearer to me than *Life*. And lastly, in *This King* is my present Right; and also Obligations of *inestimable Favours* received from him. I would to God, my *Life* could be a Sacrifice, to preserve His. Could you make it an Expedient to serve *That End*, truly I would pay you more *Thanks* for it, than you will allow your self for all your other *Merits*, from those you have most obliged; and dye

Your most Affectionate
Friend,
Post-

Post-script.

SIR,

I Add this Post-script. When with the most unheard of, and highest *Violation* of all *Laws*, Human and Divine, of *Morality* and *Sanctity*, both upon the *Person* of the King, and *Municipal Laws* of the Kingdom, so execrable an *Act* is perpetrated, let the *profit* of it to the *Actors* be summed up, it amounts to nothing more than this, That a *King* is escaped out of their present Possession; But the succeeding *King* obliged by all the *Tyes of Religion, Nature, Duty, and Honour*, encouraged with all the *Irritations of this Nation, Scotland, and Ireland*; fortified by the *Interests* of all *Christian Princes and States* to animate and aid him, for his *Revenge* upon the *Actors*. I am not guilty of so implacable and inveterate *Malice*, as to wish that the *Contrivers* of this *Villany* might pursue a *Counsel*, that shall draw such *sharp Revenges*, and infallible *Destruction* upon themselves. But truly I think that those, who have been,

or

or are their *veriest Friends*, and who have any Light of *Understanding*, or Motions of *Conscience*, will never forgive them so outragious a *Folly, Madness, and Wickedness*.

I must confess, the present Proceedings torment me with terrible Apprehensions: But truly, I cannot make my self believe, that God will permit the Devil to draw *Christian Protestant Professors* unto the Consummation of so detestable and impious a Fait. God of his infinite Mercy prevent it.

Enclosed in a Letter, thus:

SIR,

This short Letter hath no other Errand, but to excuse that longer, which is inclosed. I pray read it over, though it comes from a Person that is not proper to apply himself to You; and using an Instrument (a Pen) not suitable to my Genius. But believe it, 'tis the extremity of this present Occasion extorts it from me. God guide you, and
recal

recall you, if you are engaged in this horrid Proceeding. I rest,
moste urgent reason hwe comande to
TOWERES JAN: 1548. This moneth of
1648.

Answering therby oft SIR R, sum I
wrote alreadie day att London wi
you of him touching
thee & his selfe
desirous to have a chafferd warpe
word of to go to him in C. and to
him selfe to saye

Your humble Servant,

A Letter written to his Lady the Day before his Suffering.

My dearest Life,

MY greatest Care in relation to the World, is for thy dear self: But I beseech thee, that as thou hast never refused my Advice hitherto, do thou now consummate all in this One. And indeed, it is so important both for Thee, Me, and all our Children, that I presume Passion shall not over-rule thy Reason, nor my Request. I beseech Thee again and again, moderate thy Apprehension and sorrows for me; and preserve thy self to the Benefit of our dear Children; whom God,

God, out of his love to us in Christ Jesus, hath given us: And our dear *Mall*, (in the Case she is in) and our Comforts in that Family depend entirely upon thy preservation. I pray remember, that the Occasion of my Death will give Thee more cause to celebrate my Memory with praise, rather than to consider it with sadness. God hath commanded my Obedience to the Fifth Commandment; and for acting that Duty I am condemned. God multiply all comforts to Thee. and shall leave Thee my dear Children: In them I live with Thee; and leave Thee to the protection of a most gracious God. And I rest
Thy, &c.
 and in I and with
 all and I as all
 and doing
 and from you
 and your

Another

Another written the same Day he
suffered.

My dearest Life,

MY Eternal Life is in Christ Jesus, My Worldly Considerations in the highest Degree Thou hast deserved. Let me dwel long here in thy dear Memory, to the Comfort of my Family, our dear Children, whom God out of Mercy in Christ hath bestowed upon us. I beseech Thee, take care of thy Health. Sorrow not unsoberly, unusually. God be unto Thee better than an Husband; and to my Children, better than a Father. I am sure, He is able to be so; I am confident, He is graciously pleased to be so. God be with Thee, my most virtuous Wife: God multiply many comforts to Thee, and my Children, is the fervent Prayer of

Thy, &c.

A Let-

and his conduct in the late unhappy event
was a strong expression of the衷誠
which has given a shade of gloom to

A Letter to Mr. E. S. from a Re=verend and Grave Divine.

SIR,

I hope this Paper will find you upon your Recovery: You have my daily and hearty Prayers for it; not so much for your own sake, (for I doubt not, but it would be much better for you, in regard of your self, to be dissolved, and be with Christ) but in the behalf of the Church, your Friends, and poor Family; to which notwithstanding be assured, God will be merciful, howsoever he disposeth of you, either for this Life, or for a better. But if you live, (as I pray, and hope you will) you shall do very well to write the Life and Death of that Noble Lord, and Blessed Martyr, who professed at his Death, That he died for the Fifth Com- mandment. And to die in the Defence, and for the Testimony of any Divine Truth, is truly and properly to be a Mart- tyr.

That

That which I can contribute towards this Work is, to communicate some few Observations I made of him, and from him, before and after his *Condemnation*. I was several times with him, and always found him in a very cheerful and well-composed Temper of Mind ; proceeding from true *Christian Grounds*, and not from a *Roman Resolution* only (as his *Enemies* are pleased to speak of him.) He told me often, It was the *Good God* he served, and the *Good Cause* he had served for, that made him not to fear *Death* : Adding, He had never had the Temptation of so much as a thought, to check him for his Engagement in this *Quarrel* ; for he took it for his *Crown and Glory* ; and wished he had a greater Ability, and better Fortune to engage in it.

After his *Condemnation*, and the Afternoon before his suffering, we were a great while in private together ; when, bewailing with that Sense which became a true (and not despairing) Penitent, the first of his Life past, the greatest he could remember was his killing my Lord of Strafford's *Death* ; which though (as he said) he did without any *Malice* at all, yet he confessed it to be a very great sin ; and that he had done it out of a base

Fear (they were his own words) of a prevailing party: Adding, That he had very often, and very heartily repented of it; and was confident of God's Pardon for it.

Then he told me, He had a great desire to receive the *Blessed Sacrament* (so he called it) before he died the next Morning; asking, What *Divine* of the King's Party I would recommend to him? I replied, That (though many were more worthy, yet) none would be more willing to do him that Service than my self. Which he accepting very kindly, told me, He durst not *desire* it, for fear it might be some *danger* to me. After this, and some Conference in order to His preparation, both for his *Departure*; and his *Voyage*, the *Sacrament* and his *Death*; he desired me to pray with him. Which after I had performed, and promised to be with him by seven the next Morning, I left him for that time to his own *Devotions*.

The next Day I was there at the time assigned, and after some short Conference in order to the present Occasion, he desired me to hear him pray: which he did for half an hour in an excellent Method, very apt Expressions, and mole strong,

strong, hearty, and passionate Affections : First, Confessing and bewailing his sins with strong Cries and Tears : Then humbly and most earnestly desiring God's Mercy, through the Merits of Christ only. Secondly, For his dear Wife and Children, with some passion ; but for her especially, with most ardent Affections : recommending them to the Divine Providence with great Confidence and Assurance ; and desiring for them rather the Blessings of a Better Life, than of This. Thirdly, For the King, Church, and State. And lastly, For his Enemies, with almost the same Ardour and Affection.

After this sending for my Lord of Norwich, and Sir John Owen, I read the whole Office of the Church for Good Friday : and then, after a short Homily I used for the present Occasion, we receiyed the Sacrament. In which Action he behaved himself with great Humility, Zeal, and Devotion. And being demanded after we had done, how he found himself ; he repli'd, Very much better, stronger, and cheerfuller for that Heavenly Repast ; and that he doubted not to walk like a Christian through the Valley of Death, in the Strength of it. But he

he was to have an *Agony* before his *Passion*; and that was the parting with his *Wife*, *Eldest Son*, *Son-in-Law*, two of his *Uncles*, and Sir T. C. especially the parting with his most dear *Lady*; which indeed was the *saddest spectacle*, that ever I beheld. In which Occasion he could not chuse but confess a little of *Humane Frailty*; yet even then he did not forget both to *comfort* and *counsel* her, and the rest of his Friends; particularly, in blessing the young *Lord*, he commanded him never to *revenge* his Death, though it should be in his Power: The like he said unto his *Lady*. He told his *Son*, He would leave him a *Legacy* out of *David's Psalms*, and that was this; *Lord, lead me in a plain Path*. For, Boy, (said he) I would have you a *plain honest Man*, and hate *Dissimulation*.

After this, with much adoe I perswaded his *Wife*, and the rest to be gone: and then being all alone with me, he said, *Doctor, the hardest part of my Work in this World, is now past*; meaning the parting with his *Wife*.

Then he desired me to pray preparatively to his *Death*, that in the last Acti-

on he might so behave himself, as might be most for God's Glory, for the endearing of his *Dead Master's Memory*, his *Present Master's Service*; and that he might avoid the *doing or saying* of any thing, which might favour either of *vanity*, or *sullenness*.

This being done, they were all carried to Sir Robert Cotton's House; where I was with him, till he was called unto the *Staffold*, and would have gone up with him; but the Guard of *Souldiers* would not suffer me.

At

AT the same time with the Lord Capel, there suffered (as is aforementioned, James Hamilton (who was likewise Earl of Cambridge) and Henry Earl of Holland, who were both condemned by the same pretended High Court of Justice, together with George Lord Goring, and Sir John Owen, who were pardoned; The Names of which pretended High Court were as followeth,

A List of the Names of the Judges of the High Court of Justice, for the Tryal of James Earl of Cambridge, Henry Earl of Holland, George Lord Goring, Arthur Lord Capel, and Sir John Owen, Knight.

Appointed by an Act of the Commons of England in Parliament Assembled.

Iohn Bradshaw Serj. at Law. Rich. Kynaston Serj. at Law.	Jo. Pulliston Serj. at Law. Matthew Shepheard. Will. Underwood.
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Jo. Hayes.
 Geo. Langham.
 George Manley.
 Jo. Langley.
 Sam. Moys.
 Morris Tompson.
 Richard Shute.
 Mark Hildersley.
 Thomas Allen.
 Daniel Taylor.
 Edmund Waring.
 Nathanael Lacey.
 Ja. Stone.
 Cornelius Cook.
 William Wybeard.
 Jo. Blackwell Esq;
 James Prince.
 Nathanael Whettam.
 Silvanus Taylor.
 Thomas Ayres.
 Edward Cresset.
 William Penoyre Esq;
 Sir Edward Barkham Bar-
 restor.
 Ralph Harrison.
 Maximilian Beard.
 Sir William Roe.
 Fra. Hacker Esq;
 Jo. Whitby.
 John Harrison.

Richard Downes. Sparrow. William Webb. Thomas Cook. Robert Titchbourn. George Cooper. Owen Roe. Thomas Pride. Jo. Huson. Thomas Sanders Esq; Thomas Titchbourn Esq; Thomas Anarew's Aldermin. William Spence. Nicholas Martin. Josias Barnars.	Hardwick. Robert Norwood. Steven Effwick. Thomas Nowell. Thomas Arnold. Thomas Browne Esq; Thomas Ayre. William Barker Esq; Sir Jo. Throughgood Kt. Vincent Potter. William Parker. Solomon Smith. Hubbed Esq; Sir Rich. Saltingstall Kt. Sampson Sheffield Esq.
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You and every of you are required to
 appear upon Monday the fifth of this in-
 stant Febr. in the morning by nine of
 the Clock in the Painted Chamber at
 w.w.j. 1702 side West

Westminster, for the putting into Execution an Act of Parliament, for the erecting of an High Court of Justice for the trying and adjudging of James Earl of Cambridge, Henry Earl of Holland, George Lord Goring, Arthur Lord Capel, and Sir John Owen, Knight. Hereof the Subscribers are ordered to give notice, and therefore desire you not to fail herein. Given under our hands this third day of Feb. Anno Dom. 1648.

Luke Robinson.

Nicho. Love.

J. Sarland.

The

~~and onto printing out for examination
and to establish to SA its bona
of Office of High Court of Justice to~~
**The several Speeches of Duke
Hamilton Earl of Cambridge,
the Earl of Holland, and the
Lord Capell, immediately
before their Execution upon
the Scaffold in the Palace-
yard Westminster, on Friday
March 9. 1649.**

Duke Hamilton Earl of Cambridge,
his Speech on the Scaffold, March
9, 1649.

Upon Friday the ninth of this instant, being the day appointed for the Execution of the sentence of Death upon the Earl of Cambridge, the Earl of Holland, and the Lord Capel, about ten of the Clock that morning, L. Col. Beecher came with his Order to the several Prisoners at St. James's, requiring them to come away;

away ; according to which Order they were carried in Sedans, with a Guard to Sir *Thomas Cotton's* House at *Westminster*, where they continued about the space of two hours , passing away most of that time in Religious and seasonable conferences with the Ministers, there present with them. After which, being called away to the Scaffold, it was desired, that before they went, they might have the opportunity of commanding their Souls to God by prayer, which being readily granted, and the room voided, Mr. *Bolton* was desired by the Lord of *Holland* to take that pains with them, which was accordingly done with great appearance of solemn Affections among them. Prayer being concluded, and hearty thanks returned by them all to the Ministers who performed, as also to the rest who were their Assistants in this sad time of trouble ; The Earl of *Cambridge* prepared first to go towards the place of Execution ; and after mutual Embraces , and some short Ejaculatory Expressions to, and for his fellow-Sufferers, he took his leave of them all, and went along with the Officers, attended upon by Dr. *Sibbald*, whom he had chosen for his Comforter in this his sad Condition.

The Scaffold being erected in the new Palace-yard at *Westminster* over against the great Hall-Gate, in the sight of the place where the High-Court of Justice formerly sat (the Hall-doors being open;) there was his excellencies Regiment of Horse commanded by Capt. *Disher*, and several Companies of Col. *Hewsons* and Col. *Prides* Regiments of Foot drawn up in the place: When the Earl came from *Westminster Hall* near the Scaffold, he was met by the Under-Sheriff of *Middlesex*, and a Guard of his Men, who took the charge of him from Lieut. Col. *Beecher*, and the Partizans that were his Guard; The Sheriff of *London* being also, according to command from the High Court of Justice, present, to see the Execution performed.

The Earl of *Cambridge* being come upon the Scaffold, and two of his own Servants waiting upon him, he first spake to the Doctor as followeth,

E. of Camb. Whether shall I pray first?

Dr. Sibbald. As your Lordship pleases.

E. of Camb. My Lord of *Denbigh* has sent to speak with me.

I know not the fashion, I may ask you Sir; Do those Gentlemen expect I should say

say any thing to them, or no? They cannot hear.

Dr. Sibbald. There will be a greater silence by and by. It will not be amiss if your Lordship defer your speaking till you hear from his Lordship.

Camb. There is something in it. He was with the House.

Dr. Sibbald. I suppose he would give no interruption to your Lordship, at this time, were there not something of concernment in it.

Camb. He is my Brother, and has been a very faithful Servant to the State, and he was in great esteem and reputation with them.

He is in the Hall, and sent to speak with a servant of mine to send something to me.

Sibbald. It will not lengthen the time much if you stay while you have a return from him. My Lord, you should do well to bestow your time now in meditating upon, and imploring of the free mercy of God in Christ for your Eternal Salvation, and look upon that ever-streaming Fountain of his precious Blood, that purgeth us from all our sins, even the sins of the deepest die: the Blood of Jesus Christ washes away all our sins, and that

that Blood of Christ is poured forth upon all such as by a lively faith lay hold upon him: God so loved the World, that he gave his only begotten Son, to the end, that whosoever believed in him should not perish, but have Everlasting Life; that is now, my Lord, the Rock upon which you must chiefly rest, and labour to fix your self in the free mercy of God through Christ Jesus, whose mercies are from Everlasting to Everlasting, unto all such, as with the eye of Faith behold him; behold Jesus the Author and Finisher of your Salvation, who hath satisfied the Justice of God by that all-sufficiency of his Sacrifice, which once for all he offered upon the Cross for the sins of the whole world, so that the sting of Death is taken away from all Believers, and he hath sanctified it as a passage to Everlasting Blessedness: It is true, the Waters of *Jordan* run somewhat rough and surly betwixt the Wilderness and our passage into *Canaan*, but let us rest upon the Ark (my Lord) the Ark Christ Jesus, that will carry us through, and above all those Waves to that Rock of Ages, which no Floud nor Waves can reach unto; and to him who is yesterday, to day, and the same for ever, against whom

whom the Powers and Principalities, the Gates of Hell shall never be able to prevail ; lift up and fasten your eyes now upon Christ crucified, and labour to behold Jesus stand at the right hand of his Father, (as the Protomartyr *Stephen*) ready to receive your Soul, when it shall be separated from this frail and mortal Body : Alas, no man would desire Life, if he knew beforehand what it were to live, it is nothing but sorrow, vexation and trouble, grief and discontent that waits upon every condition, whether publick or private ; in every station and calling there are several miseries and troubles that are inseparable from them ; therefore what a blessed thing it is to have a speedy and comfortable passage out of this raging Sea, into the Port of Everlasting Happiness. We must pass through a Sea, but it is the Sea of Christ's Blood, in which never Soul suffered Shipwreck, in which we must be blown with Winds and Tempests, but they are the gales of Gods Spirit upon us, which blow away all contrary Winds of diffidence in his mercy.

Here one acquainting the Earl, his Servant was coming, he answered, So Sir ; And turning to the under-Sheriffs Son, said,

Camb.

Cambridge. Sir, you have a Warrant here?

Sheriff. Yes, My Lord, we have a Command.

Cambridge. A Command.

I take this time, Sir, of staying, in regard of the Earl of *Denbigh's* sending to speak with me, I know not for what it is he desires me to stay.

Dr. Sibbald. I presume Mr. Sheriff will not grudge your Lordship a few minutes time, when so great a work as this is in hand.

His Lordships Servant being returned, and having delivered his message to the Earl of *Cambridge* privately, he said; So, it is done now: and then turning to the front of the Scaffold, before which (as in all the rest of the Palaces) there was a great concourse of people, he said;

Cambridge. I think it is truly not very necessary for me to speak much, there are many Gentlemen and Souldiers there that see me, but my voice truly is so weak, so low that they cannot hear me, neither truly was I ever at any time so much in love with speaking, or with any thing I had to express, that I took delight in it; yet this being the last time that I am to do

do so, by a divine Providence of Almighty God, who hath brought me to this end justly for my sins ; I shall to you Sir, Mr. Sheriff, declare thus much, as to the matter that I am now to suffer for, which is as being a Traytor to the Kingdom of *England* : Truly, Sir, it was a Country that I equally loved with my own, I made no difference ; I never intended either the generality of its prejudice, or any particular mans in it : what I did was by the Command of the Parliament of the Country where I was born, whose Commands I could not disobey, without running into the same hazard there of that condition that I am now in : The ends, Sir, of that Engagement is publick, they are in Print, and so I shall not need to specifie them.

Dr. Sibbald. The Sun perhaps will be too much in your Lordships face, as you speak.

Cambridge. No Sir, it will not burn it. I hope I shall see a brighter Sun than this, Sir, very speedily.

Dr. Sibbald. The Sun of Righteousness my Lord.

Cambridg. (But to that which I was saying Sir.) It pleased God so to dispose that Army under my Command, as it was

was ruined ; and I, as their General clothed with a Commission, stand here now ready to dye ; I shall not trouble you with repeating of my Plea ; what I said in my own Defence at the Court of *JU-
STICE*, my self being satisfied with the Commands that is laid upon me, and they satisfied with the Justness of their procedure ; according to the Laws of this Land. God is just, and howsoever I shall not say any thing as to the mater of the sentence, but that I do willingly submit to his Divine Providence, and I acknowledge that very many ways I deserve even a worldly punishment, as well as hereafter ; for we are all sinful , Sir, and I a great one : yet for my comfort, I know there is a God in Heaven that is exceeding merciful ; I know my Redeemer sits at his Right Hand , and am confident, (clapping his hand to his Breast) is Mediating for me at this instant ; I am hopeful through his Free-Grace, and all-sufficient merits, to be pardoned of my sins, and to be received into his mercy ; upon that I rely, trusting to nothing but the Free Grace of God through Jesus Christ : I have not been tainted with my Religion, I thank God for it, since my infancy, it hath bee'n such as hath been pro-

profest in the Land, and established ;
and now 'tis not this Religion, or that
Religion, or this or that Fancy of men
that is to be built upon ; 'tis but one
that's right, one that's sure, and that
comes from God. Sir, and in the Free
Grace of our Saviour. Sir, there is truly
something that (* had I thought my Speech would
have been thus taken) I * Observing
would have digested it into
some better method than now I can, and
shall desire these Gentlemen that do write
it, that they will not wrong me in it,
and that it may not in this manner be
published to my disadvantage, for truly
I did not intend to have spoken thus
when I came here.

There is, sirs, terrible aspersions has
been laid upon my self ; truly such as I
thank God, I am very free from ; as if
my actions and intentions had not been
such as they were pretended for ; but
that notwithstanding what I pretended
it was for the King, there was nothing
less intended than to serve him in it. I
was bred with him for many years, I was
his Domestick Servant, and there was
nothing declar'd by the Parliament, that
was not really intended by me ; and truly

ly in it I ventured my Life one way, and now I lose it another way ; and that was one of the ends, as to the King ; I speak only of that ; because the rest has many particulars, and to clear my self from so horrid an aspersion as is laid upon me : neither was there any other design known to me by the incoming of the Army, then what is really in the Declaration published. His person, I do profess, I had reason to love, as he was my King, and as he had been my Master, it has pleased God now to dispose of him, so as it cannot be thought flattery to have said this ; or any end in me for the saying of it, but to free my self from that calumny which lay upon me : I cannot gain by it ; yet Truth is that which we shall gain by for ever.

There hath been much spoken Sir, of an invitation into this Kingdom : it's mentioned in that *Declaration* ; and truly to that I did and do remit my self : and I have been very much laboured for discoveries of these Inviters, 'Tis no time to dissemble. How willingly I was to have served this Nation in any thing that was in my power , is known to very many honest, pious, and religious men ; and how ready I would have been to

to have done what I could to have served them, if it had pleased them to have preserved my Life, in whose hands there was a power: They have not thought it fit, and so I am become unuseful in that which willingly I would have done. As I said at first, (Sir) so I say now concerning that point; I wish the Kingdoms happiness, I wish it peace; and truly Sir, I wish that this blood of mine may be the last that is drawn; and howsoever I may perhaps have some reluctance with my self, as to the matter of my Fact, for my suffering for my Fact, yet I freely forgive all; Sir, I carry no rancour along with me to my Grave; His Will be done that has created both Heaven and Earth, and me a poor miserable sinful Creature now speaking before him. For me to speak (Sir) to you of State-business, and the Government of the Kingdom, or my opinion in that, or for any thing in that nature, truly it is to no end, it contributes nothing; My own inclination hath been to peace, from the beginning; and it is known to many that I never was an ill instrument betwixt the King and his people: I never acted to the prejudice of the Parliament; I bore no Arms, I medled not with it: I was not

158 *The last Speeches of D. Hamilt.*

not wanting by my Prayers to God Almighty for the Happiness of the King; and truly I shall pray still that God may so direct him, as that may be done which shall tend to his Glory, and the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom.

I have not much more to say that I remember of; I think I have spoken of my Religion.

D. Sibbald. Your Lordship has not so fully said it.

Camb. Truly, I do believe I did say something

D. Sibbald. I know you did; it is pleasing to hear it from your Lordship again.

Camb. Truly, Sir, for the profession of my Religion, that which I said was the established Religion, and that which I have practiced in my own Kingdom where I was born and bred, my Tenents they need not to be express, they are known to all, and I am not of a rigid Opinion, many Godly men there is that may have scruples, which do not concern me at all at no time; they may differ in Opinion, and now more than at any time, differing in Opinion does not move me (not any mans) my own is clear. Sir, The Lord forgive me my sins, and I forgive freely all those that even I might (as

a worldly man) have the greatest animosity against ; We are bidden to forgive, Sir, 'Tis a command laid upon us (and there mentioned,) For give us our Trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us.

D. Sibbald. 'Tis our Saviours rule, Love your Enemies, Bless them that curse you, pray for them that persecute you, do good to them that despitfully use you.

Camb. Sir, it is high time for me to make an end of this ; and truly I remember no more that I have to say, but to pray to God Almighty a few words, and then I have done.

Then kneeling down with D. Sibbald, he prayed thus :

Most Blessed Lord, I thy poor and most unworthy servant come unto thee, presuming in thy infinite Mercy, and the Merits of Jesus Christ, who sits upon the Throne ; I came flying from that of Justice, to that of Mercy and Tenderness, for his sake which shed his Blood for sinners, that he woul'd take compassion upon me, that he woul'd look upon me as one that graciously hears me, that he woul'd look upon me as one that hath Redeemed me, that he woul'd look upon me as one that hath shed his Blood for me, that he woul'd look

look upon me as one who now calls and hopes to be saved by his all-sufficient merits For his sake (glorious God) have compassion upon me in the freeness of thy infinite mercy, that when this sinful soul of mine shall depart out of this frail carcass of clay I may be carryed into thy Everlasting Glory; O Lord, by thy free Grace, and out of thy infinite mercy, bear me, and look down, and have compassion upon me; and thou Lord Jesus, thou my Lord, and thou my God, and thou my Redeemer, hear me, take pity upon me, take pity upon me, Gracious God, and so deal with my soul, that by thy precious merits I may attain to thy joy and bliss; O Lord, remember me, so miserable and sinful a Creature; now thou, O Lord, thou (O Lord) that dyedst for me, receive me, and receive me into thine own bound of mercy; O Lord, I trust in thee, suffer me not now to be confounded; Satan has had too long possession of this soul, O let him not now prevail against it, but let me (O Lord) from henceforth dwell with thee for evermore.

Now, Lord, it is thy time to hear me, hear me Gracious Jesus, even for thy own Goodness, Mercy and Truth; O Glorious God, O Blessed Father, O Holy Redeemer, O Gracious Comforter, O Holy and Blessed Trinity, I do render up my soul into thy bands, and

and commit it with the Mediation of my Redeemer; Praising thee for all thy Dispensation, that it has pleased thee to confer upon me; and even for this, Praise, and Honour, and Thanks, from this time forth, for evermore.

D. Sibbald. My Lord, I trust, you now behold with the Eye of Faith, the Son of Righteousness shining upon your Soul, and will cheerfully submit unto Him who hath Redeemed us through his Blood, even the Blood of *Jesus Christ*; that you may appear at the Tribunal of God, cloathed with the White Robe of his Unspotted Righteousness: The Lord grant, that with the Eye of Faith, you may now see the Heavens opened, and *Jesus Christ* standing at the Right Hand of God, ready to receive you into his Arms of Mercy.

Camb. Then the Earl turning to the Executioner, said, Shall I put on another Cap? Must this Hair be turned up from my Neck? There are Three of my Servants to give Satisfaction.

D. Sibbald. My Lord, I hope you are able to give all that are about you Satisfaction, you are assured that God is recon-

reconciled unto you through the Blood of Christ Jesus, and the Spirit of the Lord witnesseth to you, that Christ is become now a Jesus unto you. My Lord, fasten the Eyes of your Faith upon Jesus, the Author and Finisher of your Salvation, who himself was brought to a violent Death for the Redemption of Mankind : He chearfully submitted to his Father's good Pleasure, in it, and for us. *Blessed and Holy is he that hath part (my Lord) in the first Resurrection ;* that is, in the first Riser Jesus Christ, who is both the Resurrection and the Life ; *Over him the Second Death shall have no Power.* 'Tis the unspeakable Joy of a Believer, that at the Hour of Death his Soul hath an immediate Passage from this earthly Tabernacle to that Region of endless Glory ; yea, to the Presence of God himself, in whose Presence is fulness of Joy, and at whose Right Hand there are Pleasures for evermore.

Then the Earl of Cambridge turning to the Executioner, said, Which way is it that you wold have me lie, Sir?

Execut. The Executioner pointing to the Front of the Scaffold ; the Earl replied, What, my Head this way ? Then the UnderSheriff's Son said, My Lord,

the Order is, That you should lay your Head towards the High Court of Justice.

The Earl of Cambridge, after a little Discourse in private with some of his Servants, kneeled down on the Side of the Scaffold, and prayed a while to himself.

When he had finisht his Prayer, D. Sibbald spake to him thus:

My Lord, I humbly beseech God, that you may now with an Holy and Christian Courage give up your Soul to the Hand of your faithful Creator, and gracious Redeemer; and not be dismayed with any sad Apprehension of the Terrors of this Death: And what a blessed and glorious Exchange you shall make within a very few Minutes!

Then with a cheerful and smiling Countenance, the Earl embracing the Doctor in his Arms, said:

Camb. Truly, Sir, I do take you in mine Arms; and truly, I bless God for it, I do not fear: I have an Assurance, that is grounded here (laying his Hand upon his Heart) now, that gives me more true Joy than ever I had. I pass out of a miserable World, to go into an Eternal and Glorious Kingdom. And, Sir,

Sir, though I have been a most sinful Creature, yet God's Mercy I know is infinite; and I bless my God for it, I go with so clear a Conscience, that I know not the Man that I have personally injured.

D. Sibbald. My Lord, it is a marvellous great Satisfaction, that at this last Hour you can say so; I beseech the Lord for his Eternal Mercy, strengthen your Faith; that in the very moment of your Dissolution, you may see the Arms of the Lord Jesus stretched out ready to receive your Soul.

Then the Earl of Cambridge embracing those his Servants which were there present, said to each of them, You have been very faithful to me, and the Lord bless you.

Camb. Then turning to the Executioner, said: I shall say a very short Prayer to my God, while I lie down there; and when I stretch out my Hand (my Right Hand) then, Sir, do your Duty. And I do freely forgive you; and so I do all the World.

D. Sibbald. The Lord in great Mercy go along with You, and bring You to the Possession of Everlasting Life, strengthening Your Faith in Jesus Christ. This is

is a Pallage, My Lord, in a short Passage
unto Eternal Glory, or hope, through
the Free Gracie of Your gracious God,
Not late nowable to fly, O Death, where
is thy sting? O Gracie, where is thy victo-
ry? And to make this comfortable An-
swer, Blessed be God, blessed is he God, who
hath given me an assurance of victory, thro'
Christ Jesus; no man standeth against me
nor then the Earl of Cambridge said to the
Executioner, Must I lie all along?

Execut. Yes, and it please your Lord-
ship, I will gain no ground, sir T
o Camb. When I stretche out my hands,
I lie down with full my Head; I first tell
me If it be righte, and how you would
have me lie thereon; then I will do it.
Execut. Your shirt must be pinn'd back,
for it lies too high upon thy brest. Should-
ers! (Which was done accordingly.) said
D. Sibbald. My Lord, now, now lift
up Your Eyes unto Jesus Christ, and cast
Your self now into the Everlasting Arms
of Your gracious Redeemer.

Then the Earl having laid his Head
over the Block, said; Is this right?

D. Sibbald. Jesus the Son of David,
have Mercy upon You.

Execut. Lie a little lower, Sir.

Camb. Well, Stay then till I give you
the Sign.

And so having lain a short space devoutly praying to himself, he stretched out his Right Hand, whereupon the Executioner at One Blow severed his Head from his Body; which was received by two of his Servants then kneeling by him, into a Crimson Taffety Scarff, and that with the Body immediately put into a Coffin brought upon the Scaffold for that purpose; and from thence conveyed to the House that was Sir John Hamilton's, at the Mews.

This Execution being done, the Sheriffs Guard went immediately to meet the Earl of Holland, which they did in the Mid-way between the Scaffold and Westminster-Hall; and the Under-Sheriff's Son having received him into his Charge, conducted him to that Scaffold; the taking Myrrh all the way in his Hand, passed all valing unto the Scaffold discoursing together upon which being come, observing his Voice would not reach to the People, in regard the Guard compassed the Scaffold, she said it was not

I might tell you I ; bish about the Blood
I do not off what blood.

noY noqu yor self loved
Henry
yout self this day the XVII day
July
the 8th

for the good of his Country and the
honour and credit of our King and
of the Parliament over which he is now

**Henry Lord Rich, Earl of Hol-
land, His Speech on the Scaf-
fold, immediately before his
Death, March. 9. 1649.**

Holland.

IT is to no purpose (I think) to speak
any thing here. Which way must I
speak? And then being directed to the
front of the Scaffold, he (leaning over
the Rayls) said; I think it is fit to say
something, since God hath called me to
this place. The first thing which I must
profess, is, what concerns my Religion,
and my Breeding, which hath been
in a good Family, that hath ever been
faithful to the true Protestant Religion,
in the which I have been bred, in the
which I have lived, and in the which by
Gods Grace and Mercy I shall dye. I have
not lived according to that Education
I had in that Family where I was born
and bred. I hope God will forgive me

H 2

my

my sins, since I conceive it is very much his pleasure to bring me to this place, for the sins that I have committed. The cause that hath brought me hither, I believe by many hath been much mistaken. They have conceived that I have had ill Designs to the State, and to the Kingdom; Truly I look upon it as a Judgment, and a just Judgment of God, not but I have offended so much the State, and the Kingdom, and the Parliament, as that I have had no extream vanity in serving them very extraordinarily. For those Actions that I have done, I think it is known they have been ever very faithful to the Publick, and very particularly to Parliaments. My Affections have been ever express truly and clearly to them. The dispositions of Affairs now have put things in another posture than they were when I was engaged with the Parliament. I have never gone off from those Principles that ever I have professed; I have lived in them, and by God's Grace will die in them.

There may be Alterations and Changes that may carry them further than I thought reasonable, and truly there I left them. But there hath been nothing that I have said; or done, or professed, either

either by Covenant or Declaration, which hath not been very constant, and very clear, upon the principles that I ever have gone upon; which was, to serve the King, the Parliament, Religion, (I should have said in the first place) the Commonwealth, and to seek the Peace of the Kingdom; That made me think it no improper time, being prest sently Accidents and Circumstances, to seek the Peace of the Kingdom, which I thought was proper, since there was something then in Agitation, but nothing agreed on for sending Propositions to the King; that was the furthest aim that I had, and truly beyond that I had no intention, none at all.

And God be praised, although my blood comes to be shed here, there was I think scarce a drop of blood shed in that Action that I was ingaged in. For the present Affairs as they are, I cannot tell how to judge of them; and truly they are in such a condition, as (I conceive) no body can make a judgment of them; and therefore I must make use of Prayers, rather than of my Opinion; which are, That God would bless this Kingdom, this Nation, this State; that he would settle it in a way agreeable to

what this Kingdom hath been happily governed under ; by a King , by the Lords, by the Commons ; a Government that I conceive it hath flourished much under, and I pray God the change of it bring not rather a prejudice, a disorder, and a confusion, than the contrary. I look upon the Posterity of the King, and truly my Conscience directs me to it, to desire, that if God, be pleased, that these people may look upon them with that affection ~~that they owe~~, that they may be called in again, and they ~~may~~ be, not through blood , nor through disorder admitted again into that Power, and to that Glory, that God in their birth intended to them. I shall pray with all my Soul for the Happiness of this State, of this Nation, that the blood which is here spilt, may even be the last that may fall among us ; and truly I should lay down my life with as much chearfulness as ever Person did, if I conceived that there would be no more blood follow us ; for a State, or Affairs that are built up-on blood, is a Foundation for the most part that doth not prosper.

After the Blessing that I give to the Nation, to the Kingdom, and truly to the Parliament, I do wish with all my Heart,

Heart, Happiness, and a Blessing to all those that have been Authors in this business; and truly, that have been Authors in this very work that bringeth us hither: I do not only forgive them, but I pray heartily and really for them, as God will forgive my sins, so I desire God may forgive them.

I have a particular relation, as I am Chancellor of Cambridge, and truly I must here, since it is the last of my prayers, pray to God that that University may go on in that happy way which it is in, that God may make it a Nursery to plant those persons that may be distributed to the Kingdom, that the souls of the people may receive a great benefit, and a great advantage by them, and (I hope) God will reward them for their kindness, and their affections that I have found from them. * I have said what Religion I have been bred in, what Religion I have been born in, what Religion I have practised, I began with it, and I must end with it. I told you that my Actions and my Life have not been agreeable to my Breeding. I have told you likewise that the Family where I was bred, hath been an Exemplary Family.

(I may say so, I hope, without vanity) of much affection to Religion, and of much faithfulness to this Kingdom, and to this State; I have endeavoured to do those Actions that became an honest Man, and a good Englishman, and which became a good Christian. I have been willing to oblige those that have been in trouble, those that have been in persecution, and truly I find a great reward of it; for I have found their Prayers, and their Kindness now in this distress, and in this condition, and I think it a great reward; I pray God reward them for it. I am a great sinner, and I hope God will be pleased to hear my Prayers, to give me faith to trust in him, that as he hath called me to death at this place, he will make it but a passage to an Eternal Life through Jesus Christ, which I trust to, which I rely upon, and which I expect by the mercy of God. And so I pray God bless you all, and send that you may see this to be the last Execution, and the last Blood that is likely to be spilt among you. And then turning to the side-rayl, he prayed for a good space of time; after which Mr. Bolton said:

My Lord, Sirs, & Friends, I am very sorry to see you all yester'day visit upon us such a curse, and

My Lord, Now look upon him whom you have trusted. My Lord, I hope that here is your last prayer, there will no more prayers remain, but praises; and I hope that after this day is over, there will a day begin that shall never have end; and I look upon this (my Lord) the morning of it, the morning of that day. My Lord, You know where your fulnes lies, where your riches lie, where is your only rock to anchor on; you know there is fulness in Christ: If the Lord comes not in with fulness of comfort to you, yet resolve to wait upon him while you live, and to trust in him when you die; and then say, I will dye here, I will perish at thy feet, I will be found dead at the feet of Jesus Christ. Certainly, he that came to seek and save lost sinners, will not reject lost sinners when they come to seek him; He that intreateth us to come, will not slight us when we come to intreat him. My Lord, there is enough there, and fix your heart there, and fix your eyes there, that eye of Faith, and that eye of Hope; exercise these Graces now, there will be no exercise hereafter.

As your Lordship said here take an end of Faith, and take an end of Hope, and

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take a farewell of Repentance, and all these ; and welcome God, and welcome Christ, and welcome Glory, and welcome Happiness to all Eternity ; and so it will be an happy passage then, if it be a passage here from Misery to Happiness. And though it be but a sad way, yet if it will bring you into the presence of joy, although it be a Valley of Tears, although it be a Shadow of Death, yet if God will please to bring you, and make it a passage to that Happiness, welcome Lord. And I doubt not but God will give you an Heart to taste some sweetnes and love in this bitter Potion, and to see something of mercy and goodness to you, and shew you some sign and token of good, so that your soul may see that which we have had already of experience of (blessed be God for it) many experiences, many expressions, not only in words, nor tears ; God hath not left us without much comfort and evidence, and I hope (my Lord) You that have given so many Evidences to us, I hope you want none Your self, but that the Lord will be pleased to support You, and bear up your Spirit, and if there want Evidence, there is reliance, my security lies not in my knowing that I shall come

come to Heaven, and come to Glory but in my resting and relying upon him, when the Anchor of Faith is thrown out, there may be shakings and tossings, but there is safety; nothing shall interrupt safety, although something may interrupt security: my safety is sure, although I apprehend it not: and what if I go to God in the dark? What if I come to him, as Nicodemus did, staggering in the night? It is a night of trouble, a night of darkness, though I come trembling and staggering in this night, yet I shall be sure to find comfort and fixness in him! And the Lord of Heaven be the strength, stay, and support of Your soul, and the Lord furnish you with all those Graces which may carry You into the bosom of the Lord Jesus, that when You expire this Life, You may be able to expire it into him, in whom You may begin to live to all Eternity, and that is my humble prayer.

Holland. M. Bolton, God hath given me long time in this World; he hath carryed me through many great Accidents of Fortune, sic hath at last brought me down into a condition, where I find my self brought to an end, for a disaffection to this State, to this Parliament,

ment, that (as I said before) I did believe no body in the world more unlikely to have expected to suffer for that cause; I look upon it as a great judgment of God for my sins.

And truly, Sir, since that the Death is violent, I am the less troubled with it, because of those violent deaths that I have seen before; principally my Saviour that hath shewed us the way, how and in what manner he hath done it, and for what cause, I am the more comforted, I am the more rejoiced. It is not long since the King my Master passed in the same manner; and truly I hope that his purposes and intentions were such, as a man may not be ashamed not only to follow him in the way that was taken with him, but likewise not ashamed of his purposes, if God had given him Life.

I have often disputed with him concerning many things of this kind, and I conceive his sufferings, and his better knowledge, and better understanding (if God had spared him Life) might have made him a Prince very happy towards himself, and very happy towards this Kingdom, I have seen and known that those blessed Souls in Heaven have passed thither

ther by the gate of sorrow, and many by the gate of violence ; and since it is Gods pleasure to dispose me this way, I submit my soul to him, with all comfort, and with all hope, that he hath made this my end, and this my conclusion, that though I be low in deareh, yet nevertheless this lowness shall raise me to the highest glory for ever.

Truly, I have not said much in publick to the people, concerning the particular Actions that I conceive I have done by my Counsels in this Kingdom. I conceive they are well known, it were something of vanity (methinks,) to take notice of them here : I'le rather die with them, with the comfort of them in my own bosom, and that I never intended in this action, or any action that ever I did in my Life, either Malice or Blood-shed, or prejudice to any Creature that lives. For that which concerns my Religion, I made my profession before of it, how I was bred, and in what manner I was bred, in a Family that was looked upon to be no little notorious in opposition to some Liberties they have conceived then to be taken ; and truly, there was some mark upon me, as if I had some taint of it, even throughout my whole way

way that I have taken: every body knows what my Affections have been to many that have suffered, to many that have been in troubles in this Kingdom; I endeavoured to relieve them, I endeavoured to oblige them, I thought I was tyed so by my Conscience, I thought it by my Charity, and truly, very much by my Breeding; God hath now brought me to the last instant of my time, all that I can say, and all that I can adhere unto, is this; That as I am a great sinner, so I have a great Saviour; that as he hath given me here a Fortune to come publickly in a show of shame in the way of this Suffering (truly I understand it not to be so) I understand it to be a Glory; a Glory, when I consider who hath gone before me, and a Glory, when I consider I had no end in it; but what I conceive to be the service of God, the King and the Kingdom, and therefore my Heart is not charged much with any thing in that particular, since I conceive God will accept of the intention, whatsoever the action seemeth to be. I am going to die, and the Lord receive my Soul; I have no relyance but upon Christ: for my self, I do acknowledge that I am the unworthiest of sinners; my Life hath been

been a vanity, and a continued sin, and God may justly bring me to this end, for the sins I have committed against him, and were there nothing else but the ini-
quities that I have committed in the way
of my Life, I look upon this as a great Ju-
stice of God, to bring me to this Suffer-
ing, and to bring me to this Punishment ;
And those Hands that have been most
active in it, if any such there hath been, I
pray God forgive them ; I pray God that
there may not be many such Trophies of
their Victories, but that this may be (as I
said before) the last Shew, that this Peo-
ple shall see, of the Bleed of Persons of
Condition, of Persons of Honour : I might
say something of the Way of our Tryal,
which certainly hath been as extraordi-
nary, as any thing I think hath ever been
seen in this Kingdom ; but because that I
would not seem as if I made some com-
plaint, I will not so much as mention it,
because no body shall believe I repine at
their Actions, that I repine at my For-
tune ; it is the Will of God, it is the
hand of God under whom I fall ; I take
it entirely from him, I submit my self to
him, I shall desire to roul my self into
the Arms of my Blessed Saviour ; and when

* Pointing to the El. when I come to this * place, when I bow down my self there, I hope God will raise me up; and when I bid farewell, as I must now to Hope and to Faith, that Love will abide; I know nothing to accompany the Soul out of this World, but Love: and I hope that Love will bring me to the Fountain of Glory in Heaven, through the Arms, Mediation, and the Mercy of my Saviour *Iesu Christ*, in whom I believe, O Lord help my Unbelief.

Hodges. The Lord make over unto You the Righteousnes of his own Son, it is that Treasury that he hath bestowed upon You, and the Lord shew You the Light of his Countenance, and fill You full with his joy and kindness, O my dear Lord, the Lord of Heaven and Earth be with You, and the Lord of Heaven and Earth bring You to that Safety.

Holland. I shall make as much hast as I can to come that Glory, and the Lord of Heaven and Earth take my soul; I look upon my self entirely in Him, and hope to find Mercy through Him, I expect it; and through that Fountain that is opened for Sin and for Uncleanness, my Soul must receive it; for did I rest in any thing

thing else, I have nothing but sin and corruption in me: I have nothing but that, which instead of being carried up into the Arms of God, and of Glory, I have nothing but may throw me down into Hell. *Bolton.* But my Lord, when you are cloathed with the Righteousness of another, you will appear glorious, though now sinful in your self: The Apostle saith, *I desire not to be found in my own righteousness,* and when you are cloathed with another, the Lord will own you, and I shall say but thus much: Doubt not that ever God will deny salvation to sinners, that come to him, when the end of all his Death and Sufferings was the Salvation of Sinners, when as I say, the whole end, and the whole design, and the great work, that God had to do in the world, by the death of Christ, wherein he laid out all his counsels, and infinite wisdom, and mercy, and goodness, beyond which there was a *Non ultra* in Gods thoughts, when this was the great design, and great end, the salvation of sinners, that poor Souls should come over to him and live: certainly when sinners come he will not reject, he will not refuse.

And my Lord, do but think of this,
the

the greatest work that ever was done in the World, was the Blood of Christ that was shed, never any thing like it: And this blood of Christ that was shed, never any thing like it: And this Blood of Christ that was shed, was shed for them that come, if not for them, for none, it was in vain else: you see the Devils they are out of capacity of good by it, the Angels they have no need of it, wicked men will not come, and there are but a few that come over, but a few that come over and should he deny them, there were no end neither fruit of the Blood and Sufferings of the Lord Jesus: and had your Lordship been with Christ in that bloody agony, when he was in that bloody sweat, sweating drops of Blood, if you had asked him, Lord, what art thou now a doing, art thou not now conciliing an angry God and me together, art thou not pacifying the Wrath of God? Art not thou interpolating thy self between the Justice of God, and my Soul? Would he not have said, yea? And surely then he will not deny it now.

My Lord, His passions are over, his compassions still remain, and the larger and greater, because he is gone up into a higher place, that he may throw down
more

more abundance of his mercy and grace upon you, and my Lord, think of that infinite Love, that abundance of riches in Christ : I am lost, I am empty, I have nothing, I am poor, I am sinful; be it so, as bad as God will make me, and as vile as I possibly can conceive my self, I am willing to be: but when I have said all, the more I advance these Riches, and Honour that Grace of God. And why should I doubt, when by this he puts me into a capacity, into a disposition for him to shew me mercy, that by this I may the better advance the Riches of his Grace, and say, Grace, Grace, to the Lord, to all Eternity, that God should own such a Creature, that deserves nothing; and the less I deserve, the more conspicuous is his Grace: and this is certain, the Riches of his Grace he throweth amongst men, that the Glory of his Grace might be given to himself, if we can give him but the Glory of his Grace, we shall never doubt to partake of the Riches of it, and that Fulness: My Lord, that Fulness be your Comfort, that Fulness of Mercy, that Fulness of Love, that Fulness of Righteousness and Power be now your Riches, and your only Stay, and the Lord interpose

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pose himself between God and you, as your Faith hath indeavoured to interpose him between God and your soul ; so I doubt not there he stands (my Lord) to plead for you, and when you are not able to do any thing your self, yet lie down at the feet of him that is a Merciful Saviour, and knows what you would desire, and wait upon him while you live, trust in him when you die, there is Riches enough, and Mercy enough; if he open not, yet die at his door, say there i'll die, there is mercy enough.

Holland. And here is the place where I lie die down before him, from whence I hope he will raise me to an Eternal Glory through my Saviour, upon whom I rely, from whom only I can expect mercy : into his Arms I commend my Spirit, into his bleeding Arms, that when I leave this bleeding Body that must lie upon this place, he will receive that Soul that ariseth out of it, and receive it into his Eternal Mercy, through the Merits, through the Worthines, through the Mediation of Christ that hath purchased it with his own most precious Blood.

Folton.

Bolton. My Lord, Though you conclude here, I hope you begin above; and though you put an End here, I hope there will never be an End of the Mercy and Goodness of God: And if this be the Morning of Eternity, if this be the Rise of Glory, if God pleaseth to throw you down here, to raise you up forever; say: Welcom Lord! Welcom that Death that shall make way for Life! and welcom any Condition that shall throw me down here, to bring me into the Possession of Jesus Christ. I abhor Hodes. My Lord, if you have made a Deed of Gift of your self to Jesus Christ, to be found only in Him; I am confident, you shall stand at the Day of Christ: My dear Lord, we shall meet in Happiness.

Holland. Christ Jesus receive my Soul; my Soul hungers and thirsts after Him; Clouds are gathering, and I trust in God through all my Heaviness, and I hope through all Impediments, he will settle my Interest in Him, and throw off all the Claim that Satan can make unto it; and that he will carry my Soul in despite of all the Callumnies, and all that the Devil and Satan can invent, will carry

carry it into Eternal Mercy, there to receive the Blessedness of his Presence to all Eternity.

Hodges. My Lord, It was his own by Creation; it is his own now by Redemption and Purchase; and it is likewise his own by Resignation. O my Lord, look therefore up to the Lamb of God, that sits at the Right Hand of God, to take away the Sins of the World: O that Lamb of God!

Holland. That Lamb of God, into his Hands I commit my Soul: And that Lamb of God, that sits upon the Throne to judge those Twenty Four that fall down before Him, I hope he will be pleased to look downward, and judge me with Mercy that fall down before Him, and that adore Him, that only trusts upon his Mercy, for his Compassion; and that as he hath purchased me, he would lay his Claim unto me now, and receive me.

Bacon. My Lord, Think of this, There is no Condemnation to them who are in Christ. Who is it that can condemn? It is Christ that justifies: And therefore look now upon this, (My Lord) upon this Christ, upon this Christ that justifies: Hell,

Death,

Death, Sin, Satan; nothing shall be able
to condemn: It is Christ that justifies
you.

Holland. Indeed if Christ justifie, no Body
can condemn; and I trust in God, in
his Justification: Though there is a Con-
fusion here without us, and though there
are Wonders and Staring that now dis-
quiet; yet I trust that I shall be carried
into that Mercy, that God will receive
my Soul.

Bolton. I doubt not, my Lord, but
as you are a Spectacles of Pity here, so
you are an Object of God's Mercy a-
bove.

Holland. Then the Earl of Holland
looking over among the People, point-
ing to a Soldier, said; This honest
Man took me a Prisoner: You little
thought I should have been brought to
this, when I delivered my self to you upon
Conditions. And espying Captain Watson
on Horse-back, putting off his Hat, said
to him, God be with you, Sir; God reward
you, Sir.

Bolton. My Lord, Throw your self in-
to the Arms of Mercy; and say, There
I will anchor, and there I will die: He
is a Saviour for us in all Conditions;

Whi-

Whither should we go? He hath the Words of Eternal Life: And upon Him do you rest; wait while you live, and even trust in Death.

Holland. Here must now be my Anchor; a great Storm makes me find my Anchor; and but in Storms no Body trusts to his Anchor: And therefore I must trust upon my Anchor. (*Upon this God, said Mr. Bolton, upon whom your Anchor trusts.*) Yea, God, I hope, will anchor my Soul fast upon Christ Jesus: And if I die not with that Cleanness, and that Heartiness that you speak of, truly, I will trust in God; though he kill me, I will rely upon Him, and in the Mercy of my Saviour.

Bolton. There is Mercy enough, my Lord, and to spare, you shall not need to doubt; they shall never go begging to another Door, (*My Lord*) that come to Him.

Then the Earl of Holland speaking to Mr. Hedges, said; I pray God reward you for all your Kindness; and pray as you have done, instruct my Family, that they may serve God with Faithfulness and Holiness, with more Diligence, than truly I have been careful to pres them

them unto. You have the Charge of the same Place, you may do much for them; and I recommend them to your Kindness, and the Goodness of your Conscience.

Dr. Sibbald standing upon the Scaffold, in his Passage to Collonel Beecher, expressed himself thus to his Lordship.

Dr. Sibbald. The *Lord* lift up the Light of his Countenance upon you, and you shall be safe.

Holland. Then the Earl of *Holland* embraced Lieutenant Collonel *Beecher*, and took his Leave of him: After which, he came to Mr. *Bolton*, and having embraced him, and returned him many Thanks for his great Pains and Affections to his Soul, desiring *God* to reward him, and return his Love into his Bosom.

Mr. *Bolton* said to him, The *Lord God* support you, and be seen in this great Extremity: The *Lord* reveal and discover himself to you; and make your Death the Passage unto Eternal Life —

Then the Earl of *Holland* turning to the Executioner, said; Here, my Friend, let my Cloaths, and my Body alone;

I there

there is Ten Pounds for thee, that is better than my Cloaths, I am sure of it.

Executioner. Will your Lordship please to give me a Sign when I shall strike?

And then his Lordship said, You have Room enough here, have you not?

And the *Executioner* said, Yes.

Bolton. The *Lord* be your Strength, there is Riches in him : The *Lord* of Heaven impart himself to you ; he is able to save to the uttermost. We cannot fall so low, as to fall below the everlasting Arms of *God* ; and therefore, the *Lord* be a Support and Stay to you, in your low Condition, that he will be pleased to make this an Advantage to that Life and Glory, that will make amends for all.

Holland. Then the Earl of *Holland* turning to the *Executioner*, said ; Friend, do you hear me ? If you take up my Head, do not take off my Cap. Then turning to his Servants, he said to one, Fare you well, thou art an Honest Fellow ; and to another, *God* be with thee, thou art an Honest Man. And then said, Stay, I will kneel down, and ask *God* Forgiveness : And then prayed for a pretty

the E. of Holl. and the L. Capel. 191

pretty space, with seeming Earnestness.

Bolton. The Lord grant you may find Life in Death.

Holland. Which is the way of lying? (which they shewed him.) And then going to the Front of the Scaffold, he said to the People; God bless you all, and God deliver you from any such Accident as may bring you to any such Death as is violent, either by War, or by these Accidents; but that there may be Peace among you, and you may find that these Accidents that have happened to us, may be the last that may happen in this Kingdom: It is that I desire, it is that I beg of God, next the saving of my Soul. I pray God give all Happiness to this Kingdom, to this People, and this Nation. And then turning to the Executioner, said, How must I lie? I know not.

Executioner. Lie down flat upon your Belly.

And then having laid himself down, he said, Must I lie closer?

Executioner. Yes, and backwarder.

Holland. I will tell you when you shall strike.

And then as he lay, seemed to pray with much Affection for a short space ; and then, lifting up his Head, said, Where is the Man ? And seeing the Executioner by him, he said, Stay while I give the Sign. And presently after stretching out his Hand, and the Executioner being not fully ready, he said, Now, now. And just as the Words were coming out of his Mouth, the Executioner at one Blow severed his Head from his Body.

Был у нас вчера Борис, изображавший в своем
доме пасхальную выставку. А вчера же
был и я, изображавший в своем доме пасхальную выставку.
И мы сидели в своих домах и изображали пасхальные выставки.
И я изображал пасхальную выставку в своем доме.
И я изображал пасхальную выставку в своем доме.

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*Arthur Lord Capel, his
Speech on the Scaffold,
immediately before his
Death, March 9. 1649.*

The Execution of the Lord of Holland being thus performed, the Lord Capel was brought to the Scaffold, as the former; and in the way to the Scaffold, he put off his Hat to the People on both sides, looking very austerely about him: And being come upon the Scaffold, Lieutenant Collonel Beecher said to him, Is your Chaplain here?

Capel.

NO, I have taken my Leave of him. And perceiving some of his Servants to weep, he said; Gentlemen, refrain

your selves, refrain your selves. And turning to Lieutenant Collonel Beecher, he said; *What? did the Lords speak with their Hats off, or no?*

Coll. Beech. With their Hats off.

And then coming to the Front of the Scaffold, he said, *I shall hardly be understood here I think.* And then began his Speech as followeth.

Capel. The Conclusion that I made with those that sent me hither, and are the Cause of this violent Death of mine, shall be the Beginning of what I shall say to you: When I made an Address to them, (which was the last) I told them with much Sincerity, That I would pray to the God of all Mercies, that they might be Partakers of his inestimable and boundless Mercies in *Jesus Christ*; and truly, I still pray that Prayer: And I beseech the God of Heaven, forgive any Injury they have done to me, from my Soul I wish it. And truly, this I tell you as a Christian, to let you see I am a *Christian.*

But it is necessary I should tell you somewhat more, That I am a *Protestant*: And truly, I am a *Protestant*, and very much in love with the Profession of it, after the manner as it was established in

in England, by the thirty-nine Articles : A blessed way of Profession ; and such an one as truly, I never knew none so good,

I am so far from being a *Papist*, which some Body have (truly) very unworthily at some time charged me withal, that truly, I profess to you, that though I love Good Works, and commend Good Works ; yet I hold they have nothing at all to do in the matter of Salvation. My Anchor-hold is this ; *That Christ loved me, and gave Himself for me* : That is that that I rest upon.

And truly, something I shall say to you as a Citizen of the whole World ; and in that Consideration I am here condemned to die, truly contrary to the Law that governs all the World ; that is, the Law of the Sword : I had the Protection of that for my Life, and the Honour of it : But truly, I will not trouble you much with that, because in another Place I have spoken very largely and liberally about it. I believe you will hear by other means, what Arguments I used in that Case. But truly, that that is stranger, you that are English-men behold here an English-man here before you, and acknowledged a Peer,

1,6 The last Speeches of D. Hamilt.

not condemned to die by any Law of *England*, not by any Law of *England*: nay, shall I tell you more? (which is strangest of all) contrary to all the Laws of *England*, that I know of. And truly, I will tell you, in the matter of the Civil Part of my Death, and the Cause that I have maintained, I die (I take it) for maintaining the *Fifth Commandment*, enjoyned by *God himself*, which enjoyns Reverence and Obedience to Parents: All Divines on all Hands, though they contradict one another in many several Opinions; yet all Divines, on all Hands, do acknowledge, that here is intended Magistracy and Order: And certainly, I have obeyed that Magistracy, and that Order, under which I have lived, which I was bound to obey. And truly, I do say very confidently, That I do die here for keeping, for obeying that *Fifth Commandment* given by *God himself*, and written with his own Finger.

And now, *Gentlemen*, I will take this Opportunity to tell you, That I cannot imitate a better, nor a greater Ingenuity, than his, that said of himself, *For suffering an unjust Judgment upon another, himself was brought to suffer by an unjust Judgment.* Truly, *Gentlemen*, that *God may be*

may be glorified, that all Men that are concerned in it, may take the Occasion of it, of humble Repentance to God Almighty for it, I do here profess to you, That I did give my Vote to that Bill against the Earl of Strafford: I doubt not, but God Almighty hath washed that away with a more precious Blood, the Blood of his own Son, and my dear Saviour Jesus Christ: And I hope he will wash it away from all those that are guilty of it. Truly, this I may say, I had not the least part nor degree of Malice in doing of it. But I must confess again to God's Glory, and the Accusation of mine own Frailty, and the Frailty of my Nature, that truly it was unworthy Cowardize, not to resist so great a Torrent, as carried that Busines at that time. And truly, this I think I am most guilty of, of not Courage enough in it; but Malice I had none. But whatsoever it was, God I am sure hath pardoned it, hath given me the Assurance of it, that Christ Jesus his Blood hath washed it away. And truly, I do from my Soul wish, That all Men that have any Stain by it, may seriously repent, and receive a Remission and Pardon from God for it.

¶ And now, Gentlemen, we have had an Occasion by this Intimation, to remember His Majesty, our King that last was; and I cannot speak of Him, nor think of it, but truly I must needs say, That in my Opinion, that have had time to consider all the Images of all the greatest and vertuousest Princes in the World; and truly, in my Opinion, there was none more vertuous, and more sufficient Prince known in the World, than our gracious King Charles that died last. God Almighty preserve our King, that now is his Son; God send him more Fortunate, and longer days: God Almighty so assist him, that he may exceed both the Vertues and Sufficiencies of his Father. For certainly, I that have been a Councillor to him; and have lived long with him, and in a time when Discovery is easily enough made; for he was young, (he was about thirteen, fourteen, fifteen, or sixteen Years of Age) those Years I was with him: Truly, I never saw greater Hopes of Virtue in any young Person, than in him; great Judgement, great Understanding, great Apprehension, much Honour in his Nature; and truly, a very perfect English-Man in his Inclination: And I pray God re-

lore him to this Kingdom, and unite the Kingdoms one unto another, and send a great Happiness both to You, and to Him ; that he may long live and reign among you, and that that Family may reign till thy Kingdom come ; that is, while all Temporal Power is consummated. I beseech God of his Mercy, give much Happiness to this your King, and to You that in it shall be his Subjects by the Grace of Jesus Christ.

Truly, I like my Beginning so well, that I will make my Conclusion with it ; that is, That God Almighty would confer, of his infinite and inestimable Grace and Mercy, to those that are the Causers of my coming hither, I pray God give them as much Mercy as their Hearts can wish : And truly, for my part, I will not accuse any one of them of Malice ; truly, I will not : Nay, I will not think there was any Malice in them ; what other Ends there is, I know not, nor will I examine : But let it be what it will, from my very Soul I forgive them every one.

And so the Lord of Heaven bless you all ; God Almighty be infinite in Goodness and Mercy to you, and direct you in those ways of Obedience to his Commands.

mands to His Majesty, that this Kingdom may be an happy and glorious Nation again, and that your King may be an happy King in so good and so obedient Pople. *God Almighty* keep you all; *God Almighty* preserve this Kingdom; *God Almighty* preserve you all.

Then turning about, and looking for the Executioner, (who was gone off the Scaffold) said, *Which is the Gentleman? which is the Man?* Answer was made, He is coming. He then said, *Stay; I must pull off my Doublet first, and my Waist-coat.* And then the Executioner being come upon the Scaffold, the Lord Capel said; *O Friend!* prethee come hither. Then the Executioner kneeling down, the Lord Capel said, *I forgive thee from my Soul; and not only forgive thee, but I shall pray to God to give thee all Grace for a better Life.* There is Five Pounds for thee; and truly, for my Cloaths, and those things, if there be any thing due to you for it, you shall be fully recompensed: But I desire my Body may not be stripped here, and no Body to take notice of my Body, but my own Servants. Look you Friend, this I shall desire of you, That when I lie down, you would give me a time for a particular short Prayer.

Leut.

Lieut. Coll. Beecher. Make your own Sign, my Lord.

Capel. Stay a little; which side do you stand upon? (speaking to the Executioner) Stay, I think, I should lay my Hands forward that way, (pointing fore-right;) and Answer being made, Yes; he stood still a little while, and then said; God Almighty bless all this People; God Almighty stench this Blood; God Almighty stench, stench, stench this Issue of Blood: This will not do the business; God Almighty find out another way to do it. And then turning to one of his Servants, said; Baldwin, I cannot see any thing that belongs to my Wife; but I must desire thee, and beseech her to rest wholly upon Jesus Christ; to be contented, and fully satisfied. And then speaking to his Servants, he said, God keep you; and, Gentlemen, let me now do a Business quickly, privately; and pray let me have your Prayers at the moment of Death, That God would receive my Soul.

Lieut. Coll. Beecher. I wish it.

Capel. Pray at the moment of striking joyn your Prayers; but make no noise (turning to his Servants) it is inconvenient at this time.

Servant. My Lord, put on your Cap.

Capel. Should I? what will that do me good?

good? Stay a little, it is well as it is now: As he was putting up his Hair.

And then turning to the Executioner, he said; Honest Man, I have forgiven thee, therefore strike boldly; from my Soul I do it.

Then a Gentleman speaking to him, he said; Nay, prethee be contented; be quiet good Mr. ——— be quiet.

Then turning to the Executioner, he said; Well, you are ready when I am ready, are you not? And then stretching out his Hands, he said; Then pray stand off, Gentlemen. Then going to the Front of the Scaffold, he said to the People: Gentlemen, though I doubt not of it, yet I think it convenient to ask it of you, That you would all joyn in Prayers with me, That God would mercifully receive my Soul; and that for his alone Mercies in Christ Jesus, God Almighty keep you all.

Executioner. My Lord, shall I put up your Hair?

Capel, if so prethee do. And then as he stood, lifting up his Hands and Eyes; he said; O God, I do with a perfect and willing Heart, submit to thy Will: O God, I do most willingly humble my self. And then, kneeling down, said; I will try first how I can lie: And laying his Head over

over the Block, said ; *Am I well now?*

Executioner. Yes.

And then as he lay with both his Hands stretched out, he said to the Executioner, *Here lie both my Hands out; when I lift up my Hands thus, [lifting up his Right Hand] then you may strike.*

And then after he had said a short Prayer, he lifted up his Right Hand; and the Executioner, at one Blow, severed his Head from his Body; which was taken up by his Servants, and put (with his Body) into a Coffin.

These

These following Epitaphs were
written upon the Suffering
of this Courageous and No-
ble L O R D.

Here Virtue, Valour, Charity, and all
Those rare Endowments we Celestial call,
Included are: Nor wonder at the Story;
Capel lies here, Loyalty's chiefest Glory.

Another.

Disturb me not, my Soul is mounting high,
To Pyramide great Capel's Memory.
Ile range my Thoughts; it is a World that shall
be rul'd by Capel's Echo; hallow all
Te Sacred Muses, and conspire to bring
Materials for this Work; and learn to sing:
For should you weep, your Eyes might undertake
To drown the World, which I intend to make,
Forbear, your Tears are useless; you must now
Gaze upon Earth with an undaunted Brow.
Capel hath taught us how to entertain
The Pallid Looks of Fate; by him we gain
The Art of Dying, and from him we have,
The Definition of a Deathless Grave.
Rare Soul, I say, thy ever Active Fame
Shall build a World unto thy pregnant Name;

And

And every Letter of thy Stem shall raise
A spacious Kingdom, where thy ample Praise
Shall be recorded: Every list'ning Ear
Shall prove Ambitious, be intranc'd to bear.
'Twill be a Glory, when the World shall say,
'Twas bravely done, His Sovereign led the way:
And he, as Valiant Soldiers ought to do,
March't boldly after, and was always true
To Sacred Majesty; His Hero'd Breath
Disdain'd to fear, he rather courted Death:
Death added Life unto his Thoughts; for he
Contemn'd a Death he bought with Victory.
The very Birds shall learn to prate and sing,
How Capel suffered for his Royal King.

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Some Account of the Life of the Pious and Virtuous Arthur Lord Capel, Baron of Hadham.

THIS HONORABLE PERSON ought to be eternized for his Endeavours, Constancy and Perseverance in the Royal Cause, first to the parting with his vast Estate, being sequestred for his Loyalty, and afterward with his life, so that he may be rightly termed, *The Flower of English Fidelity*, and his name ought to be ever honourably mentioned according to that of the Psalmist, Psalm 112. 6. *The Righteous shall be had in Everlasting Remembrance.*

He was Son and Heir to Sir Arthur Capel of Hadham Hall in Hertfordshire, a Gentleman of a great Estate, one who followed the Old Mode of our Nation, kept a bountiful house, and shewed forth his Faith

by his works, extending his charity in such abundant manner to the poor that he was bread to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, eyes to the blind, and legs to the lame; and might be justly stiled Great Almoaer to the King of Kings. Concerning the humility of this worthy Knight (though it be too sudden a diversion) I shall presume to insert a story, which I have heard delivered by some well acquainted with his Worship; that he being one time at his Gate all alone, in a plain but decent habit, a Serving-man who had plumed himself with his Masters cast Feathers came riding to him, & asked him if Sir Arthur Capel were within, Sir, replied the knight, he was there not long ago, and if you please to walk in you may hear further of his Servants; Old Father, said the Serving-man, here take my horse and walk him; and therewithal gave him a small peice of Silver, it being the first money he ever received in that kind; Sir Arthur agreed to the motion, and with a smile received from him a single penny, took his horse, and walkt him, whilst the finical spruce Serving-man struttred with conuient boldness into the house; But being informed by the Servants, that their Master was at the Gate, he replying that he was not there, one of them to justify himself went with him

to the Gate to see, where they found Sir Arthur very indigritious in his Imployment; the Servoing-man very much ashamed of his mistake, craved pardon, and with humble obesiance, with his hat in his hand, with many cringes, would have received the horse from the knight, Nay stay, says Sir Arthur, you paid me my hire, get up as soon as you will, for I am resolved to see you on Horle-back. Then the old Knight putting his hand into his purse gave him half a piece, which he said was for taking so much care of his Masters Horse, being purposly thus liberal to incourage his own Servants to imitate his careful example.

But to return to his son; he was very well educated, attaining to some perfection in learning; his Father dying, as he intituled his Estate so he did his virtues. The Prerogative of this noble Lord before the war was passed with as much popularity in the Country, as his more publick appearance in it was with valour and Fidelity in the Field. In our too happy time of peace none was more Pious, Charitable, and Munificent; In our unhappy differences none more resolved, Loyal and affre; The People loved him so well that they chose him one of their Representatives and the King esteemed him so much, that he made him one of his Peers in Parliament;

the detection either of folly, or untruth; this neither fears, nor declines, anything that should temper his forwardness.

CLIX. IS HAST WO

Necessity was the parent of Industry: And if we enquire the original of great and admirable actions, we shall find that *great nis necessitated were their founders.*

CLXJ. ON ENTHUSIASM

The knowledge even of the meanest things is not to be slighted, for it may conduce to the conceiving of higher matters. For most of those things that are excellent, are of themselves, of so exalted a reach, that we cannot look upon them, except we raise our selves, higher than our selves, by standing upon things of inferior account.

CLXI. DISPLACEMENT

It is good for our peculiar content, strictly to examine our own natural imperfections (and with as little reservation as may be:) for I doubt not, but we shall observe so much, as will make us better bear with the perverse injuries of others toward our selves.

CLXII.

Those, who look for perfect happiness any where but in God, who is the plenitude of all good things, are like the blind Sodomites,

Sodomites, who groped for the door of
Lots house, but could not find it.

CLXIII.

Those, who have no other ways to
preserve their reputation but by lying, are
like them that assist the decayed natural
heat of the stomach; are for the present
refreshed, yet not preserved, but precipita-
ted to their destruction.

CLXIV.

It is difficult to conceal either Love or Ha-
tred. For there will be many emergent
occasions, wherein the Heart cannot re-
sist the discovery of its Affect.

CLXV.

Our passions are like the Seas, that
of their own nature will swell and boyl, but
more if they be agitated by the minds:
and passions are outragious, if moved by
external occasions. But as God hath set
bounds to those, so we by his assistance
should to these. So far they shall go, and
no farther.

CLXVI.

To be direct and just in our dealing is
a vertue most precellent: yet this alone
is not enough to gain love. But this with
a loving disposition never fails. But the
most immediate mean of winning, is to be
loving.

For

To robb others not being punished .
For those sharpies, which we can
as sharply and suddenly retort, we think
ourselves well enough revenged. But if
we fall in that, then commonly we boil
with shame and vexation; - and hold our
selves engaged to answere that with
trinity, that we could not vicitly: which
perhaps was spoken but merrily, though
undiscreetly.

CLXXXVIII.

That plaine be enjoyed to contentious
persons there will never be end of quer-
ries. For what hath been cured by wife
composition, will be freshly wounded by
undiscreet language.

CLXXXIX.

It is a good Christian rule not to think
the worse of our brethren for the malevo-
lent report of the wicked, nor to flatter
our selves for their commendations. For
(commonly) to be praised by a wicked
person, - is to be praised for a wicked action.

CLXXX.

Contentious persons are always busied
in making nets for others. And it seldom
fails, but in some they are caught them-
selves: and then none more unskilfull
how to entangle themselves.

and so too he is CXXXI. cxxii. novis. i. v.
 Every man is to himself some
 sort friends, in many things more com-
 modious. For in some faults tender friends
 rare. Only knavishness and covetousness
 and they are those that bear arms about
 us. And especially will a knave, though
 he be a knave, befriend them; but a fool will be inclined to a more
 foolish party. CXXXII. cxxiii. 21
 How ignorant are they most knaves,
 that their best way is to abstain from decide, what
 to do; except in some things too obviously
 others too inclining; in some things ab-
 using the power of nature and natural means,
 in others too much advancing it. And the
 most intelligent are likely to error.

beginning of CXXXIV. cxxv. 1. v. 1. A

The observation is in what variety all
 things turn; (this man now in disgrace,
 afterwards in favour; now happy, and
 satisfied;) should prepare our minds,
 that no ill might come suddenly upon
 us, nor the flattery of prosperous fortune of-
 fuscate our resolutions.

beginning of CXXXIV. cxxv. 1. v. 1. V

Inconsiderate or foolish may lessen the
 evil of a mischance done by us; but it
 cannot fully absolve us from it. For Rea-
 son

son is given unto us, that in all our actions we should govern our selves by advice of it.

CLXXV.

Moderation of passions, judgement in counsel, dexterity in affairs, are the most eminent parts of wisdom: yet a wise man may be discerned in things of less consequence, as in apparel, servants, and sports. His apparel rather decent than costly; not hunting after novelties, nor cynick in what's obsolete. His servants enough for his use and quality; and these rather numbered by their fit places of service, than by their names. His sports sufficient to recreate, not satiate; and those generous, not rustick.

CLXXVI.

A godly man, that endeavours to be thoroughly acquainted with the corruptions of his own heart, will censure more favourably of an injury done to himself, than to another: because he fears the violence of his own depraved affection will be too rigorous in its own interests.

CLXXVII.

We seldom see a man so tempered, that he is free either from ~~base~~ sycophantizing, or surfeiting: and it is to live without affronts and rebukes.

When

CLXXVIII.

When we are perfwaded (or rather convinced) that the opinion of many, and it may be the most wise, is contrary, or at least not the same as ours is; it should move us to these two things: First a more serious and weighty consideration, and then if our reasons cannot be satisfied with their arguments, yet in the second place it should impose silence upon our selves.

CLXXIX.

Honesty is silently commended even by the practise of the most wicked: for their deceit is under the colour of honesty. And simply considered, honesty is the best thing; but wisely managed, it is the most profitable.

CLXXX.

It is not easie to impose the tongues silence upon the hearts grievance. But yet I would constrain it, though there were no prejudice, and indifferent occasion to disclose it: because till the importunity of affection were qualified, it would rather relish of passion than reason do: willof her own.

CLXXXI.

It is incredible how much one unquiet perverse disposition distemps the peace, prosperity and unity of a whole family or society.

ciety. For they seldom stand alone, the matter, if they did so, were not great. But they having begun, then ~~paraking~~
and ~~contrarie~~ arises, and the contagion
spreads like a strong herb in ~~pernicious~~
manns meels favours of it. ~~as every blant~~

CLXXXII.

Those Frictions amongst friends, that
have not been timely composed, are like
those joynts that were ~~now~~ presently seen,
both more difficult to be set, and more
painful sufferings in the setting.

CLXXXIII.

When Princes and great Magistrates
commit heinous and bloody sin, such as
God punishest a whole nation for, we
must think Gods hand is in this sin; but
not in the pravity of it; for that is a-
gainst his liking: but permits it for a pu-
nishment for the peoples. The evil of the
sin is their so that evil of punishment for sin
is Gods.

CLXXXIV.

The common people like brute beasts,
if one foolishly rush into danger or tumult,
all the rest follow: observing who leads,
not whither.

CLXXXV.

Let us but wisely observe our selves,
and to do what we do to know and

and we shall see how strongly affection will plead against reason, for a matter of no account. Nay, where our persons and estates shall suffer much, and our affection enjoy but a momentary satisfaction. Neither doth affection alwaies press us peremptorily by absolute command, but often adventures to attack our reason by discourse, as it were rationally, but yet subtilly. Therefore by our selves we may easily conceive how advantagious a circumstance it is to gain their affection with whom we have, or may have business.

CLXXXVI.

There is a base-conditioned sort of creatures, whose affections are bought and sold by Hopes.

CLXXXVII.

It is an example of a deplorable nature, and of the worst aspect, both in a publick state, and private family, to see detestable faults, not only nor punished, but the persons perpetrating persons grow greater in favour, and more insolent in conditions.

CLXXXVIII.

A condemned person not legally put to death, is murdered, not executed: and to judge ill of any unbaord, is not bare injury, but high injustice.

Fowles

CLXXXIX.

Fowlers set not the same sort of grins
for the same kinds of fowls at all seasons
of the year, but wary : neither do the
crafts-masters of subtilty deceive, though
the most ignorant Gulls, by one only trick,
For a very dogg will abhor that room whence
he is often beaten.

CXG.

Gaietardin incites his country-men to
their pristine vertue by remembiring
them, That to be a Roman is a most glorious
name, if accompanied with vertue ; and
their shame is doubled, if they forget the hon-
our and renowne of their Ancestours. But
Christians have more reasons to enflame
their hearts to zeal and piety ; since
their comportment is not only exposed to
the view of men and Angels ; but to a most
pure essence, and strict observer, God
himself. And what profession was ever ho-
noured with better examples then ours,
Christ and his Apostles?

CXI.

That Master is never well served, that
doth not carry an esteem with his servants
who should be readier to believe their
masters commandments are wise, than dis-
puse it amongst themselves. And above
all things, a master must be carefull that
his

his servants be not eye-witnesses of any base or absurd action.

CXCII.

Pleasures moderately used are pleasant, but immorality and too frequently, prove scurrilous and nauseous. So while, we too greedily pursue them, we over-run and lose them.

CXCIII.

What is the advantage of men greatly learned? they labour to be unsatisfied, to know how ignorant they are; and increase of knowledge is but increase of appetite to have more.

CXCIV.

Rely not upon men whose predominant humour is covetousness. For they love nothing so well as wealth, nor fear nothing so much as poverty. Therefore if their gain and your good be opposed, and they have power to make choice of either, imagine the sequel, though against their promise to you, and your former obligations upon them. Either choose a man that loves you above all things, or which is better, Honesty.

CXCV.

The same shoe fits not all mens feet, nor the same reason weighs with every man.

CXCVI.

He is far from a wise man, that the many examples of this age have not trou-

D

toured

coured to a farr and many arring in his speech.

CXCVI¹. Often to consider that Christ by his passion hath not only gained remission of our sins, and absolved our great debt to God and his Law; but hath purchased all our right to our mortallie blessings and to heaven itself; will make our hearts tender and pliable, not only to forgive our brethren, but to behave our selves with all Christian bonny toward them.

CXCVIII. Him that is a *Band* to ones lust we account base, and why not as well him that *Flatters*? For this incites the mind to ill, than but the body: and therefore this the worse.

CXCVIX. The forward peevish disposition is like the *wind*: no man knows whence the cause of it is, nor whether it goes, nor how long it will last: but while it is all are troubled with the fearful noise and rumbling it makes.

CC. Though in a *necessary denial*, yet I would express a grief to be *unable*, rather than an *unwillingness* to satisfy, except it be to those that are *impudent* and *impudent*; and their *resolute answers* should rid me of further trouble.

CCI. Those that are wise neglect not to weigh old and common precepts; and to govern

govern themselves by them; whilst Novitists reject them as shod-bare: and looking for fresher accept of wiser.

CCII. To judge a man without anger, because we never saw him moved, is to say the flint is without fire, which indeed struck against wood or many other things, discovers not its property; but against steel shews its nature. And no man is tempered against all occasions, though against many, and it may be, most.

CCIII. The Indies have hot made the Spaniard rich; neither is any man made wealthy by abundant comings in but by the few occasions of spending.

CCIV. In Physick the relapse into a former disease is cured by the same medicines that were first used: yet because the relapse is more dangerous and difficult, there is added to the former medicines more operative virtue and stronger application. Confession and Confession are the medicines of a sick sinfull soul; and for a relapse into a former sin, we must use these medicines, both with more fervency and frequency.

CCV. Observe we those that are cleanly and neat, yet without curiosity; and commonly they are thriving: for with it there goes a disposition of industry.

Whereas those that are slovenly, are commonly lazy, and that is the road to poverty.

CCVI. Unkindness among friends is like a brack in a garment; unless timely stops, ravelles from top to bottom.

CCVII. As the Soul is the form and excellency of every creature; so is modesty the very life and being of a beautiful woman's commendation.

CCVIII. A wise parent more patiently suffers the death of his children than their wicked or debauched actions.

CCIX. Those, whose dispositions are retired, are commonly wiser than those that are jovial. The reason is excess of joy dilates the spirits: whereas the other disposition unites them, and adapts for consideration; which is the parent of wisdom.

CCX. There is an odious spirit in many men, who are better pleased to detect a fault, than commend a virtue.

CCXI. Those trees that grow wild in our fields we neglect, but for those that grow in our garden we observe the due times of pruning and cutting. If we be planted in Gods Garden, we shall be cut and pruned by afflictions: For God chastiseth every Son whom he loveth.

These

CCXII. These four are the chief ways of perpetuating our memory: Books, which require a good Head; Valiant acts, which require a courageous Heart; Children, which require an ability of Body; and Building, which requires a replenished Purse.

CCXIII. Such a man is to be imitated and admired, that had rather suffer injury, than do it: & that not out of a sluggishness and dulness of nature, but out of good morality and strong oppositions against affections.

CCXIV. How agreeable are those courtesies which we wished, and are conferred upon us before we could ask!

CCXV. There are a sort of men that find fault with other men for those very faults, wherein themselves are most faulty. Surely hoping to divert other mens observations from their lives. These men think to hide themselves behind a bred.

CCXVI. It is as bootless to endeavour to win some men by gentle usage as to hope to tame a wolf by stroaking.

CCXVII. It is a help to tranquillity lightly to esteem ill reports, that are falsely cast upon us, and those that are deservedly, to make them admonitions to us for our reformation; and not to be incensed to a wilful prosecution, for that will multiply our vexation.

CCXVIII. O Lord, how great is thy mercy to mankind that thou oftentimes withdrawest thy blessing from strong means, and so makest them ineffectuall: and again thou inspirist weak helps to effect great matters! This thou dost, knowing our wicked natures would adore thy blessings, not thee, if the ordinary best means should be infallible. And if thou shouldest never go along with the means, how lazy should we be! and so become loathsome drones in thy sight.

CCXIX. It is a most unfit time either to undertake or consult of any weighty busyness, when our minds have newly been stirred with any violence of passion; let it be either of anger, grief, or fear. For a man may as well consult fighting, as then.

CCXX. None more impatiently suffer injuries, than those that are most forward in doing them.

CCXXI. I have seen men discommend those things, which have been spoken by one whom they have not much affected, and commend the self-same things delivered from anothers mouth, whom they love. These, methinks, resemble those that praise the same liquor out of a glass, and dispraise it out of a bowl.

CCXXII. In War, when every man seeks

speaks to *you* alone, all is lost. In a Common
wealth, when every one greedily applies
himself to his own profit, the publick suffers.
So in a Family, - when every one endeavours
mastership, all are disordered.

CCXXIII. In a State nothing is more
requisite than to preserve to every officer,
yea to the meanest, a good report. For the
first step to disorder is the contempt of Me-
gistracy : and that as well of the lowest
degrees, as the more exalted.

CCXXIV. I would endeavour to strangle
all ill-concents of a parent, even at
their first beginning, though there were
too much occasion for them. But to ag-
gravate any upon never so just grounds, is
a degree of Parricide.

CCXXV. That Religion, which prin-
cipally intends internal integrity, and is ex-
ercised with external decency, is far more
holy than that, which by external glory
and pomp, incites more ocular admiration
than inward sanctity.

CCXXVI. If I could I would labour.
and if not able to labour, the law of
nature would allow me to beg: but ra-
ther than steal I would dye.

CCXXVII. A man may be a good
practical Moralist, and no Christian; but
a man cannot be a good Christian, and an
Amoralist.

CCXXVIII. Those women, that desire to marry such *douts* as they hope to govern and rule as they list, are like those that spend all their life time in leading of the blind.

CCXXIX. A fault opportunely rebuked is like a cure timely taken: then both alike easily cured; but when time hath given strength and growth, they both pass from dangerous to deadly.

CCXXX. The life of a little sick *Infant* is as hazardous and hopeless, as the safety of a small Bark in the Sea, unballanced, and without a steers-man. Every wave, though not rough, tosseth and endangereth the safety of it. So these little ones wanting strength, as the ballast, and reason as the steers-man, by which they might either help themselves, or direct others for their help, small infirmity dissolves them. But God manifests himself most where there are least natural means, and by his goodness they are preserved.

CCXXXI. Wisely used, it may be a discreet course, when our friends are afflicted with the calamity of some great loss, to amuse them with the danger of a greater dependent misfortune, if their wisdom and patience do not well provide for it: so whilst their minds are busied with

with the consideration of a greater matter, the other will be swallowed up, and the happy safety of what was most feared, will annihilate the sorrow of the other.

CCXXXII. Many times when we are in heavy affliction, and are desperate of all outward means, our *Faith* is more strong then afterwards, when God hath mercifully delivered. Yea, how far doth the Devil prevail to make us (when escaped) even worship the virtue of those means, which in our calamity were but either cold, or no comforters.

CCXXXIII. It is the wisdom of a man to be always armed against casualties, and the advantage of a Christian man to be best armed. Our little moment of time is obvious to many dangers and afflictions, & these such, as one stroak of them is able to kill us: as the loss of wife the greatest, of children the next, of estate and fame, and many the like. In how many, if not in all places do we lyē open! But *Faith* in Gods providence that he orders all for the best, is a compleat armour of defence: therefore let us never be unharnessed.

CCXXXIV. How disconsolate a thing is it to journey alone, and to be benighted in fearful darkness, and in a dangerous passage! And how are we refreshed, if we

meet with well-known acquaintance that will accompany us! Such like, but far exceeding is the comfort of cordial friends in affliction.

CCXXXV. Those disputations are fruitless and contentious, where the Authorities of learned men are objected, and not Reason.

CCXXXVI. That State is happiest and prospers best, where the people rather obey the authority of the ancient and fundamental Laws, than dispute the wisdom and policy of the first Instructors.

CCXXXVII. Those, who govern themselves by the examples of others, and not by the rule of reason & judgment, are like those, who to the appearance have clear eyes, yet are blind, and cannot walk, but as they are led.

CCXXXVIII. Friendship is the chiefest comfort of life, but to multiply friendships, and for one man to joyn himself in many, is levity and danger. For no man that is wise, will give many keys of that Cabinet where his chiefest wealth lies.

CCXXXIX. The first step of that ladder, by which a Christian man ascends to Heaven, is humility: and he who means to over-leap that, and so ascend by the rest, ever misseth them, and tumbles back with his presumption.

Those

CCXL. Those are far from ingenuous dispositions, who for their own ends will comply with ignominious and base persons.

CCXLI. To servants I would give all lawful liberty; as upon just occasions to be absent from my service. But I would not suffer them to rake it: for if they find a remiss hand upon them in one thing, it will engender insolence in all.

CCXLII. 'Tis not the plenty of meat that nourisheth, but a good digestion. Neither is it abundance of wealth that makes us happy, but the discreet using it.

CCXLIII. The interchanging courtesies of Friends is somewhat like the Philosophers tenet, that though things may cease from their present being, yet nothing is lost, for it is resolved into the first matter; and so again will be produced into other forms: to what is transferred from one friend to another is not annihilated and lost, but is deposited there, and in apt season will resuscitate to as behoveful uses.

CCXLIV. Discreet patience gives us great advantage. For when our hast makes us discover our selves, we warn our enemies to arm themselves before we mean to strike: when on the contrary, we might with ease have hit in what part we would.

The

CCXLV. The very book of the *Creatures* doth manifestly teach us that there is a God. If we come into a family, and see a decent order, we easily resolve our selves that there is a wise master that governs. Behold the whole world, (which we may call *Gods Family*) and observe the variety of creatures; nay, farther, their variety of natures, preservations and uses. Could all these frame themselves or others? could they direct themselves to their proper uses and ends, that we see God hath disposed them to? Sure, let but humane reason discourse it, and it will be evident that there must be a God. How then is it that infidelity is so general? Certainly it is the curse of Adam's disobedience, that he who had so great a measure of knowledge, and sinned against it, should be punished both in himself and posterity with Atheisme and ignorance. And as infidelity is the greatest sin, so for God to give a man over to it, is the greatest punishment.

CCXLVI. It is more honour for a woman to deny the undie desires of a warron lover, than to have thousands enamoured with her beauty, or other her natural graces.

CCXLVII. A man hath two ears, and but

but one tongue, they say it is, because he should bear twice before he speak once. A man hath likewise two eyes given him to look on both sides, before he go forward in any enterprize.

CCXLVIII. There are many that have sold away their own proper names, which they have received from a long succession of Ancestors, and bought others with the additaments of greater fortunes. In my apprehension a parricide of the largest extent, not of one parent (which all esteem horrible) but of a whole line. And more unpardonable it is in the eldest, or Heir of the House, than in any of the rest; because both the name and wealth of the family is intrusted to Him: and what God hath done to divers families for a punishment of sin, (that is, to blot out a name) he willingly and covetously pulls upon himself. Besides he calls himself by an improper name, which given by another, he would esteem to be an ignominious nick-name.

CCXLIX. It is seldom that any man doth hurt himself by patience or silence; but by hasty revenge many have undone themselves. What if there be just occasion to be angry? yet ever it is best to stay till the heat of our passion be over, because we

we may err in the measure: and there is no time lost; we may, if there be just occasion, be angry afterward.

CCL. A good name is as a pericious eyement; and he, that lives without it, stinks above ground.

CCL.I. In a man of Affairs these things are required. *Honesty*, not to wish or desire any thing but what is *just*. Sound judgment, to discern what is *profitable*, what *inconvenient*. *Dexterity*, to use opportunities that result in all affairs. A friend (to advise with) that's *secret*, who may *confirm* him in a well-chosen course, and *inform* him if he *mistake*. *Constancy*, to proceed in what he hath undertaken upon good grounds. Lastly, *patience*, to endure all the *mishaps* that could not be foreseen, nor humane wisdom prevent.

CCL.II. Both the wicked and the godly fear Gods judgments, and by them are deterred from evil actions. But the latter (as much, if not more) live sanctifiedly out of consideration and sense of Gods manifold and Fatherly mercies towards them: the other never respect them at all.

CCL.III. In true morality it is better to *love* than to be *beloved*. The one is of more fame, this of more substance: that's the concurrent act of others, this my *omnipotency*.

It

CCLIV. It is wisdom in a man so far to inquire of other mens businesses, as may instruct and enable him for his own: yet by no means to intermeddle or interest himself, no not by others intreaty, but upon very good occasion; as for publick benefit, or private charity, or nearness of alliance, or dearness of amity; and in all these with good caution too.

CCLV. As in dispute the falling into one absurdity produceth many more: so in businesses one miscarriage links it self presently with many inconveniences.

CCLVI. There is no fire so small, but would burn up all the combustible matter of the world: nor no mans desire so feeble, but if he continually seek to please it, would at last ingross all that could be had, and never extinguish, till nothing more could be found.

CCLVII. Men, who chiefly intend applause in their actions, commonly miss it; but those seldom do that principally intend their action. For he that will win the game, must look more upon the mark than the money. If he hits the one, he takes the other.

CCLVIII. A man of a froward disposition is like a hedge-hog, set so round with prickles, one knows not where to stroke him. The

CCLIX. The first beginning of a good Christian is to desire to have good desires to be implanted in him : and this little grain through Gods blessing will grow to be a great tree.

CCLX. He is a man of feeble mind, that shall torment himself for the perverse frowardness of others.

CCLXI. There is not any thing doth more mischief in marriage, than when the one maketh much of any who hath injured the other.

CCLXII. Much is the knowledge that is gotten by discreet arguing and opposing of reasons : but when it grows to contradiction, there is not a greater ill.

CCLXIII. The aquanity of the mind, (in which consists the happiness of man) being once lost, is with much difficulty redeemed. As sleep being broken by disorder, is with much adoe recovered ; so our quiet being distempered by passion, is hardly refestled.

CCLXIV. That man that often weighs his own actions towards others, and with what affections he did them, will enable himself the better to conceive of other mens intentions towards himself in their affairs ; whereas those men that expect that all others should court their interests, never

never consider how they behave themselves to others.

CCLXV. *The lazy mans life is the most tedious, and most perplexed of all mens. For industrious men have both the comfort of effecting their purposes, and by their providence have prevented those calamities (either in part, or altogether) which humane condition is liable to ; and which fall impetuously upon the sluggard.*

CCLXVI. *It is the part of a discreet man not to enter upon an affair of consequence hastily or inconsiderately, and of a religious man, not to do any holy action without preparation. For the meditations of the heart should precede the words of the mouth. Therefore no way commendable is the course of those, who in prayer and preaching follow (as they call it) the present dictate of the Spirit , but rather indeed of their own fancy ; and is to be accounted vain presumption, and not spirituall excellency, as they would have it.*

CCXLVII. *There are many who are much disturbed at other mens buffoneries : a great defect of judgment, to envy that which we should rather scorn or pity.*

CCLXVIII. *Unhappy they are, who never know their friends but when they are gone ; First, in losing the comfort of them*

them, when they may have it next; in desiring and wanting them, when they are first hope of having them.

CCLXIX. It is as absurd and weak to endeavour ones self to a sweet converse with those that are froward, and to be sharp with those that are gentle; as to give to an importune begger, and deny bounty to a modest man that wants.

CCLXX. The sluggard if he could truly apprehend the sweet content that endeavour brings, would loath his nest, who to avoid labour lingers out a tedious life.

CCLXXI. It is not the garment that is graceful, but the inward proportion that sets it forth: nor is it abundance that is our blessing, but a mind fitly disposed to our condition.

CCLXXII. If I go the right way my self, it were absurd to deviate upon any occasion. And sure, he that composeth his life to a regular honest course, needs not care for the exception of any. For those that are likewise honest I shall meet; and those that are not, I desire not to find.

CCLXXIII. Religious love is like Solomons sword: it trieth whether our love be like the naturall mothers, that would not

not have a division made, or the wife
mother, that would have the child divided.
The pious heart wholly devotes it self to
God; but the carnal and hypocritical parts
it with God, and its own measures and
advantages.⁹ This scrutiny Religion
makes.

CCLXXXV. That which in convenient
times may be convenient, in conve-
nient times is often inconvenient.

CCLXXV. If it be with obedience to
the chief Magistrate, a man ought to car-
ry an honest and faithful bearing to the com-
mon right, and his private inheritance. And
it is to be granted, where there is no
offence committed against the law, there
is no guilt or desert of punishment.

CCLXXVI. The wisdom of those
young men is excellent, who by providence
and discourse of reason do so order their
affairs, that they stay not till necessity or
experience force them to use that order,
which wise foresight would much sooner
have taken.

CCLXXVII. They are much deceived
who conceive that by their own abilities
they are able to act in every affair. But
the truth is, that he is the wise man,
that knows to make able men his instru-
ments.

These

These two Meditations following, with the Verses, were written by him not long before his Suffering.

God's secret Will is unknown. Whatsoever it be, his name be magnified. My duty is to walk by the revealed and acknowledged rules of his Truth, and the received precepes of vertue. Which though through my frailty I have not practised so well as I should, and as I wish I had; yet never shall the fear of death (by his divine and gracious assistance) no not in the ugliest shapes attired, daunt me from asserting them.

I know my cause is good, and that my sufferings answer not the value and worthiness of it. I know that my Redeemer liveth that died for me. Most willingly I die for his Truth, and for acting my duty to his servant, the King; whom he had placed here upon his terrestriall throne amongst us. I know and believe that to dye is gain, the gaining of an immortal and incorruptible life, with eternal felicity in the sight of God my Saviour, and his blessed Angels.

My Saviour the Cross sanctified,
My King the Block hath dignified.
Crosses nor Blocks I do not fear,
Sanctifi'd, Dignifi'd thy art.
Gloria Deo in excelsis.

CERTAIN
LETTERS
Written to severall
PERSONS.

BY

Arthur Lord Capel,

Baron of Hadham.



LONDON

Printed for Nath. Crouch at the Bell
in the Poultry near Cheapside. 1683.



S T R,

THe sad and desperate condition His Majesties Sacred person is in, hath filled me with much greater *anxiety & disquietness*, than hath been usual to me since these *unhappy times*: And it is not often that I think of any thing else, but what *may* or *ought* to be done in order to the preservation of it, as a *Christian*, as a *Subject*: For I believe both duties are inseparably conjoyned in this occasion. The inquisition after this led me into the consideration of Gods dispensation of times & seasons: & that as those are not to be neglected, wherein there is *freedom* for our *active duty*; so neither *these*, wherein there is appearance of little else remaining, save only for others to be encouraged and revived by the *passive*. (And truly I doubt not but the *divine goodness* will act for our *good ends*, by our *Christian readiness* for *sufferings*.) And as it is thus with times,

so

so also it is with persons: some are rather, or more decently qualified for this than others, at least to give example and authority to it. — I have no notion of

These cogitations drew from me the considerations herein inclosed; which I have addressed to—because I assure my self much of your gentleness. I have already communicated them to a very learned, reverend and pious — but I will not adventure much further in it, until I have also your sense of the expediency of the thing. For neither to the reputation of the matter, untill it be maturely considered of, nor to any person, would I because of inconvenience. And indeed, if it be so well encouraged by your self, and such others of like reputation, as it is by *Him*, it will become me afterward to be silent (as I conceive,) for I have a better Heart than a Head for this business. I profess I have a jealous eye upon the *Scots* and *Presbyterians*; who I doubt not, would make malicious advantages upon any colourable defect of our Clergy. I shall add this, that those of my profession are not idle, but are confident and vigilant. And truly it were a vile shame for us of all qualifications, if this excellent Prince should be lost

lost, and we not able to excuse our selves, that no means was left unattempted for his preservation ; Whom I beseech God to comfort and defend. To whose protection I also leave you, &c.

Feb. 11. 1647.

POSTSCRIPT.

I Think it gives weight and encouragement to this proceeding, both His Majesties late excellent *Declaration* to his Subjects ; as also the *Resolution* of the Houses to exhibit theirs to the people, I heartily wish this were timely fitted for this *conjunctione*.

The Considerations inclosed.

THE streight durance his Majesties sacred person is held under, the late *Declaration* of the Army, (with which the Commons have concurred) to act without and against the King, puts it past all scruple, that the flagitious and execrable resolution of these men hath engaged them past retiring ; and (which is yet worse) that they cannot but proceed to the deepest and utmost Villanies and Impieties.

There

There is not less question of this, than of what ought to succeed it; which is, that their impudence must be encountered with a *Christian Courage, Zeal, and Resolution* Superior to it; otherwise 'tis a doubt not to be slighted, that these Men, and too many others seduced by them, will have a seeming Cause to believe themselves, that *Theological Truths* are more controversial, than those *Astronomical or Astrological*, wherein *Lines and Images* are only fictioned, to make *Schemes for Sciences and Discourse*. I am not altogether free of this Scruple, though it looks so stupendiously Irreligious.

Will not the whole Frame of *Christian Verity* be shaken (if not subverted) in this Nation, when this so great a Truth in it shall not be vigorously averred; That an *Established Magistracy* is God's immediate Minister; and ought not, cannot, with *Christian Profession*, be deposed by those that owe Obedience and Allegiance to it? I am fully perswaded, that it is so necessary a Truth, that were it tyed to the Stake, and the *Flames* about it, even there ought we to offer our selves to vindicate it, and contend for it; or else adieu *Christian-Protestant Profession*.

The Seed of the Church was Suffering:
And